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GUJARÁT.

The History of India as told by its own Historians.

THE

LOCAL MUHAMMADAN DYNASTIES.

GUJARÁT.

BY THE LATE

SIR EDWARD CLIVE BAYLEY, K.C.S.I.

9 23

PARTIALLY BASED ON A TRANSLATION BY THE LATE PROFESSOR JOHN DOWSON.

Published under the patronage of H.M.'s Secretary of State for India.

FORMING A SEQUEL TO SIR H. M. ELLIOT'S HISTORY OF THE MUHAMMADAN EMPIRE OF INDIA.

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PREFACE.

In the original Preface to his "Mahomedan Historians of India," Sir Henry Elliot wrote as follows:—

"The author had hoped to be able to append an account of the historians of the independent Mahomedan monarchies, such as Gujarát, Bengál, Kashmír, and others; but the work, as it is, has already extended to a length beyond what either its name or the interest of the subject warrants, and sufficient information is given respecting their annals in many of the general histories." *

Sir Henry Elliot had, however, collected rare works with a view to the undertaking which he was compelled, as above described, to abandon; and on the completion of his work by the late Professor Dowson, several Oriental scholars expressed a desire to see his idea carried into effect. Mr. Edward Thomas having, in extension of the interest and supervision which he undertook in regard to the original work, expressed this wish to the Secretary of State for India, the grant-in-aid which the Government allowed to assist the publication of the former was extended to the present work.

On these terms the undertaking was accepted by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., who entrusted its execution to the late Professor Dowson, and he determined to commence with the

* See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. i. p. xvi.

history of the local dynasty of Gujarát. He was, perhaps, influenced in this decision by the existence of the well-known and very excellent history of the entire dynasty, known as the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," which he selected as the basis of his work, and the translation of which he had completed, and in a great measure passed through the press, when he succumbed somewhat suddenly to an insidious and unsuspected disease.

On his death the present Editor, who had been employed by Sir Henry Elliot to assist him in the preparation of the earlier work, and who had long been in close communication with him on the subject, was asked to undertake the completion of Professor Dowson's task. About the same time His Highness the late Sir Salár Jang, G.C.S.I., of Hyderábád, forwarded a fresh and very important MS. of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí"; and on proceeding to compare this with the text, it was found to give considerable additional matter and some important improved readings. The Editor's views, moreover, of certain details of the plan on which the work should be carried out differed materially from those entertained by Professor Dowson, and he therefore considered himself justified in recommending the reprinting of the entire work. This, by the joint liberality of the Secretary of State for India and of Messrs. Allen & Co., has been permitted, and the work is now submitted to the public on the Editor's responsibility.

The translation of Professor Dowson forms the main basis of the volume, though a few passages have been corrected by the aid of the Hyderábád MS., and a somewhat large amount of new material, chiefly consisting of anecdotes, has been introduced in the translation of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí."

Professor Dowson did not attempt a perfectly literal translation; indeed, the texts vary so greatly, that it is impossible to adhere closely to any one of them. The Professor, however, followed generally the less florid recension of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," and has, even in that, occasionally somewhat condensed the language. His version has been corrected

only where the fuller texts seem to give the sense more clearly, or where a better reading has been since obtained.

The annotations are taken from authors who wrote more or less incidentally of Gujarát affairs. It is hoped, so far as they can be recovered, to present in a second volume extracts from other works on Gujarát history only, on some of which the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" was avowedly founded. The names of the latter will be found in the notice of that work (pp. 59–66), and some of them are known to be still in existence. A few extracts from the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí" are to be found in the pages of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" itself, and are sufficient to give an idea of the author's style. The "Táríkh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí" in its entirety is another valuable contribution which was sent by Sir Salár Jang. A copy of the earlier part also exists in the library of the British Museum. In that Institution also is to be found a large fragment of the "Táríkh-i-Muzaffar Sháhí II.," containing the whole account of his campaign against Málwah, undertaken to restore Mahmúd Sháh to his throne. The other works on which the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" was founded have not yet been recovered, and Firishtah quotes a passage from a "Táríkh-i-Gujarát" which does not seem to occur in any known work. A MS. under that title, however, is found in the British Museum, which relates the closing scenes of the Gujarát dynasty, beginning with Bahádar Sháh, and which purports to have been written by Abú Túráb, who was probably the same as the nobleman of that name who, together with I'timád Khán, surrendered to Akbar, and who seems to have been subsequently employed by that monarch. Several friends are still diligently searching for the missing works; but the Editor will gratefully receive (through Messrs. Allen & Co., the Publishers) notices of any other MSS., whether of the Gujarát or of other local dynasties, which any of his readers may be able to furnish. It is hoped, also, in the second volume to add appendices on various matters of interest connected with Gujarát, such as the early

history of the province as revealed by recent archæological research, and the Portuguese version of the events in which they bore a part during the later years of the Gujarát dynasty.

The mode of transliterating proper names adopted is practically that used for the new series of "International Numismata Orientalia." The spelling followed is generally that of the text; but in a few instances, where the word is Hindí and is much disguised in its Persian form, or is better known in its original shape, the latter has been followed. Thus "Sómnát" is written instead of "Sómnáth"; but "Girnár," not "Girnál," and "*lákh*" in lieu of "*lák.*"*

In conclusion, the Editor's object has been to carry out the work as nearly as possible in the form in which Sir Henry Elliot himself would have wished to produce it. To effect this the Editor has given his best endeavours. This, to whatever extent he may have succeeded, is the only tribute which it is in his power to pay to a memory which will long be regarded in India with respect and affection, and the only return which it is in his power to make for kindnesses the recollection of which will never pass away.

I am indebted to the kindness of Major Watson for several of the notes on the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," and for the correction of some of the local names.

E. C. B.

* All spelling has been printed as Sir Edward Clive Bayley left it.

BRIEF NOTICE

OF

SIR EDWARD CLIVE BAYLEY.

It is not right that this book should appear without a notice, however brief and imperfect, of its estimable and lamented Editor.

Edward Clive Bayley was born at St. Petersburg in October 1821. He belonged to a family which has been well known in the Indian service now for nearly a century. His father's brother, William Butterworth Bayley, of the Bengal Civil Service, held the office of Governor-General for several months, during the interval between Lord Amherst's departure and Lord William Bentinck's arrival, and after his return to England was for many years a Member of the Court of Directors, and twice its Chairman.

Edward Bayley entered Haileybury in 1840, and went to India in 1842, arriving at the Sandheads just when the disastrous news of the destruction of our force at Kabul had reached Calcutta. He was for some years attached to the North-West Provinces, and in 1849 his character stood so high that he was one of the men chosen by Lord Dalhousie to form the administrative staff of the Punjab; nearly all of them, civil and military, men who proved to be of marked ability and character. Bayley's lot fell as Deputy-Commissioner of the Gujarat District. His service there was very short, for before the end of the year he was called away to fill the post of Under-Secretary in the Foreign Department. But, short as it was, he seems to have left a more

distinct mark upon the district than many do after a much longer tenure of office. For we are told by a well known member of the Punjab service, who joined the district as Assistant some seven years after Bayley's departure, that the latter's name was still affectionately remembered by the people.

One help that he afforded to the chief town of his district is mentioned in the obituary notice contained in the Annual Report of the Royal Asiatic Society, and may well be repeated here. Gujarat was the seat of a beautiful art in damascene work, *i.e.*, the inlay of iron and steel with gold. This, like many other Indian local arts, has only become well known in Europe since the Paris Exhibition of 1876, and the diffusion of Sir George Birdwood's handbooks. Before the annexation of the Punjab its excellence was known to very few Englishmen in India; and its chief exercise was in the embellishment of arms and armour, the latter being then still occasionally worn, as a piece of magnificence, by the Sikh chiefs. The disappearance of the Lahore Court, and the establishment of the *Pax Britannica*, threatened the existence of this artistic industry; and Bayley greatly exerted himself to turn it into new and lasting fields, by procuring orders for caskets, paper-knives, table ornaments, and what not, from Anglo-Indian and English friends. Thus, an art which might have been lost to the town was maintained, and still flourishes.

In the Foreign Secretariat Bayley's chief was Sir Henry Elliot, one of the most brilliant of the many eminent men who have held that office. Bayley's taste for Indian archæology had no doubt already taken root, but it was greatly developed by his association and friendship with such a chief. When the manuscript materials connected with Indian History, left behind by Elliot at his premature death in 1853, were placed at the disposal of the Court of Directors, Bayley was one of the Committee to whom the Court submitted the papers, for judgment, as to the mode in which they should be dealt with.

After two years in the Foreign Office, Bayley rejoined the

Punjab Administration as Deputy-Commissioner of Kangra, where he continued till he took leave to England on account of his health, in 1854. During his stay in England he was called to the Bar.

Returning to India in 1857, the year of the Mutiny, his first service was as Under-Secretary to Sir John Peter Grant at Benares. The revolt had cut off all connection between Agra, the seat of the local Government, and that part of the territory in which order had been preserved or quickly restored, and Sir John (then Mr. Grant) had been sent to Benares to gather up the dropped reins of Government. In 1858 Lord Canning himself took up his residence at Allahabad, and administered the government. Bayley continued for a time to act as Under Secretary with him.

Passing over various offices which he held during his gradual rise in the service, in 1861 he re-entered the Secretariat as acting Foreign Secretary, and in the year following became Home Secretary to the Government of India, a post which he held for ten years. In 1873 he was nominated to the Council of the Governor-General; his tenure ended in 1878, and he then retired from the service. He had held the office of President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for the three years preceding his departure, and that of Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta for a term. He was nominated K.C.S.I. in January 1877.

Sir Edward Bayley's papers on Indian archæology have been detailed in that Report of the Royal Asiatic Society to which we have already been indebted. They are about twenty in number. The most important, perhaps, were his papers regarding the dates on certain Kabul coins, and on the genealogy of Modern Numerals. The former modified very considerably the views of most Orientalists on one of the most important difficult chronological questions. The origin of the Numerals, a subject to which he had devoted much study, was left unfortunately incomplete when he died, after a very brief illness, April 30th, 1884.

The following remarks are contributed by a distinguished Orientalist, who held Sir E. C. Bayley in high regard, Professor Bühler, now of Vienna:—"It would, however, be a mistake to estimate the services of Sir E. C. Bayley to Oriental learning by the number of his essays. In India he did invaluable work by his very successful efforts to preserve the monuments of ancient art, by saving numerous important coins—which are now deposited in the magnificent collection left by him or in the Indian Museums—from destruction, and by giving a warm support to the official search for the remnants of Sanskrit literature. Both in India and in Europe he made his influence widely felt by the readiness with which he gave the benefit of his extensive knowledge, and allowed access to his collections, to all students of Indian history and antiquities who asked him for help. Everybody who has had the privilege of corresponding with him on such matters will remember with pleasure and gratitude the warm interest with which he took up all new suggestions and theories, the care and impartiality with which he examined and discussed the arguments, *pro* and *con*, and the soundness of his criticism and advice."

Few men are so sincerely lamented as Edward Bayley was. His gentle and kindly manner was a true indication of his refined mind and his sweet nature. One never met him, or parted from him, without retaining a sense of having come in contact with something beneficent and tranquillizing. The testimony of the native newspapers to the feeling with which he was regarded in India has been of very unusual strength, and obvious sincerity. By the Mahommedan community his sympathy was especially valued, and we print at the end of this notice a remarkable expression of this sentiment. At the dinner which the Viceroy gave in his honour when he was about to leave Calcutta, Lord Lytton told an anecdote which he must have gathered from some of Bayley's Haileybury contemporaries. We give it in the noble speaker's own words, as reported in the *Englishman* newspaper of March 15th, 1875: "It was unanimously agreed by (Bayley's)

comrades at school, as afterwards by his colleagues in office, that nature's elements were never kindlier mixed, to associate a sweeter temper with a gentler, more courteous, and more chivalrous character than his. Nor was this feeling confined to his fellows. For I have heard a story told of Le Bas, the old Principal of Haileybury, that he used to say that the character of Edward Bayley was the only thing which had ever caused in his mind a doubt about the doctrine of original sin ! "

On the same occasion Bayley himself concluded his acknowledgments with words which may fitly end the more personal part of this brief notice of our friend: " Our family motto is taken from the writings of the great Roman orator and philosopher: *Quod est, eo decet uti, et quidquid agas agere pro viribus;* or, to put the sentiment as it occurs in Scriptural language: 'Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might.' It is not a vain-glorious motto, but it is, as I know by experience, an ambitious one. If those in India who know us best can say that in any sense we have acted up to our motto, I can scarcely seek for higher praise."

In 1877, when the last volume (VIII.) of the " History of India as told by its own Historians " issued from the Press, it was determined to supplement the work by selections from the Mahommedan histories of the Kingdoms of the Deccan, an addition which had been comprised in Sir Henry Elliot's original comprehensive scheme. The editorship was again undertaken by Professor Dowson, who had with so much labour and zeal carried through the completion of the eight volumes, from the papers of Sir H. Elliot, and from the complementary matter prepared by himself. Professor Dowson's lamented death occurred, and it was necessary to find a new editor. It was with great satisfaction that those interested heard that Sir E. Bayley had consented to undertake this duty. It is always a difficult matter to take up the thread of a work dropped in death; the more interest and knowledge a man brings to such a task, the stronger and more precise his own views and opinions as

to how it should be done are likely to be. Bayley found the work, so far as it had proceeded, done on a plan which greatly differed from what he would have himself adopted, and from what he (who knew Sir H. Elliot's plans and views on the subject better than anyone surviving) considered to have been the design of the original projector. But apart from these considerations a very valuable copy of the text of the *Mirát-i-Sikandarí* had been sent by the late Sir Salar Jung, which Professor Dowson had not had the advantage of collating; and the examination of this enabled Bayley to make some important emendations. The general result was that Sir Edward deemed it necessary to recast the whole.

Finally, it must be remembered that this volume has been completed and passed through the press since Sir Edward's lamented death; and allowance must be made for the absence of various finishing touches which would doubtless have come from his hand.

H. Y.

Extract from "The Mahommedan Observer and Guide," May 17th, 1884.

"By the Mussulman community of India, who now-a-days so sadly lack powerful friends and sympathisers amongst their rulers, and who for some inscrutable reasons now seem to have unfortunately fallen into the disfavour of Government, the removal by death of a most kind-hearted and staunch friend, like Sir Edward Clive Bayley, must be felt not only as a personal loss, but will be viewed as a deep and public calamity. Descended from an illustrious family, having long and intimate association with Indian affairs from the earliest period of the establishment of British Rule in this country, Sir Edward

inherited the traditional sympathies of his family for the impoverished and degraded condition of the Mussulmans of India. He had early studied Arabic and Persian literature with our late townsman, Moulvie Abdool Jubbar, at that time Meer Munshi in the Foreign Office, and thus got an insight into the beauties and defects of the Mussulman character, and could thoroughly sympathise with the Mussulman wants and aspirations. When fresh out to India, he had seen the last flickering refulgence of Mussulman power and glory, and after a few years' course saw it totally vanish into thin air. His natural sensibilities were quickened, and he threw all the weight of his sympathy on the side of our unfortunate co-religionists, and did much to promote their advancement and welfare. Not to speak of his generous and warm friendship for, and patronage of, many a deserving Mahommedan gentleman, both in Calcutta and elsewhere, the Mussulmans owe Sir Edward a 'debt immense,' of endless gratitude for a public measure which was principally due to his powerful influence, and which has already done so much, and is destined hereafter to do so much more, for the promotion of Mahommedan education in these provinces. The fact is well known that it was Sir Edward Clive Bayley, who, as Home Secretary to Lord Mayo's Government, influenced that noble Earl to sanction the memorable Resolution for putting a stop to the misappropriation of the princely Mohsin Endowment Fund, and for directing the employment of its proceeds to its present legitimate object of advancing purely Mussulman education. For this single noble act—putting aside all else—Sir Edward's memory will be cherished in the grateful recollection of our co-religionists.

"High-minded, generous-souled, courteous and polite, with dignified but amiable presence, Sir Edward was a man of 'light and sweetness,' to make use of Matthew Arnold's expression, and a veritable type of a thorough and noble English gentleman. Those who had the honour of his acquaintance, shall not soon forget his ever cheery face and benign appearance. If England

desires to conserve her Empire in the East, and to found it on the solid basis of the devoted loyalty and affection of the teeming millions of India, let her only send out to this country high-bred Englishmen, with generous instincts and enlightened sympathies for the people, like the late Sir Edward, who can attach to themselves the affection, love, and homage of those over whom they are set to rule, and who thus constitute the only true and solid 'scientific frontier' for guarding England's colossal Empire, not only from aggression from without, but also from danger from within.

"We offer, on behalf of the Mahommedan community, our respectful condolence to the relatives of the lamented deceased."

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MIRÁT-I-AHMADÍ.

This work has been described in Dr. Charles Rieu's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum. His analysis is to the following effect :—

The author, 'Alí Muhamad Khán, states that having been appointed Díwán of Gujarát towards the close of the reign of Muhamad Sháh, he began, in A.H. 1161, to compile an extensive return of the revenue of the *súbah*. Subsequently, however, he decided to expand the historical matter, which he had prepared as an appendix, and to issue it as a separate book. He commenced in A.H. 1170, the fourth year of the Emperor 'Álamgír the Second.

Contents :—(1) Preface ; (2) Introduction ; (3) Account of Gujarát and its revenues ; (4) Hindú *rájahs* ; (5) Muhamadan rule from A.H. 696 to the rise of the Gujarát dynasty ; (6) Kings of Gujarát (chiefly abridged from the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí") ; (7) Sketch of the Timuride dynasty from its origin to A.H. 1173 ; (8) Fall of the Gujarát dynasty ; Akbar's conquest and reign ; (9) History of Gujarát under Jahángír, (10) under Sháh Jahán, (11) under Aurungzíb, (12) under Bahádar Sháh, (13) under Jahándár Sháh, (14) under Farukhsiar, (15) under Muhamad Sháh, (16) under Ahmad Sháh, (17) under 'Álamgír II., and (18) under Sháh Jahán II. till the end of A.H. 1174.

The Statistical Appendix contains a description of (1) Ahmadábád and its suburbs, (2) saints and *sáíds* buried there, (3) inhabitants, (4) Hindú temples, (5) measures, weights, police-stations, &c., (6) districts and *parganahs* of the *súbah* of Gujarát, (7) mountains and divers curiosities of the province.

In the present volume will be found a translation of only Chapters III., IV., and V., which were selected as giving, from contemporary Muhamadan sources, a general account of

Gujarát and of its earlier history. These are not, however, to be accepted as wholly authentic. The author apparently compiled honestly, and has evidently used research to a degree unusual with Muhamadan writers, and has sought for information not only from somewhat rare Muhamadan publications, but also from Hindú authorities. His power, however, of noting and combining historical facts was not equal to his diligence, and his material is often put together in a shape which brings out erroneous results, as may be seen from his accounts of the Hindú dynasties of Gujarát. His notice of the Muhamadan period is unequal; but with some illustration from other sources it affords a fair sketch of events in Gujarát under the Dehlí kings.

His statistical details in Chapter III. are no doubt valuable, though not always very lucidly arranged. There seem some errors also in the arithmetical results as they stand; but these are probably due to the mistakes of copyists, though, as all the MSS. consulted in the translation, and others examined by Major Watson in Kathiáwár (one of which is said to have been copied by the author's nephew) agree, the mistakes must have occurred at a very early date.

The MSS. used have been the four preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society, and described at pp. 84–86 of Mr. Morley's Catalogue of the Persian MSS. belonging to that Institution; also an excellent copy lent by Ráó Bahádar Bhólanáth Súratní, having an additional preface or dedication which shows that the original which it follows must have been a "presentation" copy given by the author to the nobleman who was *súbahdár* or Governor of Gujarát when the work was completed.

Lastly, a very excellent copy has also been transmitted from Hyderábád, for the use of the Editor, by His Highness the late Sir Salár Jang, G.C.S.I., who took a liberal interest in the prosecution of this work.

HISTORY OF GUJARAT.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

THE country of Gujarát is known to the experienced and wise as one of the finest provinces of Hindustán. It is reckoned in the second climate,* and the atmosphere generally approaches the temperate, though in some parts, near the sea-side, it varies. The people of the towns, both men and women, especially those of Bar-nagar, Amurath, and of the province† of Sórath‡, are witty and graceful, agreeable in appearance, and pleasant to talk to.§

The soil is generally sandy. It produces grain of all kinds in abundance, but *bájrí* is the main staple of cultivation. The horses of Kachh are mainly fed on this, and a large portion of the population lives by growing it. In former times there was no good rice, but now it is produced in abundance, and of

* "Climate"; this is a reference to the technical arrangements of Mahomedan geography.

† "Province," *ólkah*. This word, which appears to be local, and of Semitic etymology, is perhaps a corruption of *halkah*, a "circle"; it is used elsewhere in this work in the sense of "province."

‡ Sórath. See note ‡ on following page.

§ A local proverb is here quoted. "What is to be said of those Gujarátís of the rosy cheek; but that great beauty is their heritage of the Lord?"

good quality. In some places the products of the *kharíf* (autumn) and *rabí'* (spring) harvests are mixed; in others they are distinguished as the productions of the *kharíf* and *rabí'*, or, of irrigation and rain.

The cultivation and the houses of the villages they plant round with prickly pear, which grows, in course of time, into a protecting barrier.* From Pattan to Baródah, a distance of nearly a hundred kós, there are mango, *khirní*,† and other trees, some which bear fruit, and others which do not, in abundance. In this respect it differs from Sórath.‡ Its melons and guavas are of the most excellent quality. Gourds, water-melons, &c. are sown by the sides of the rivers in the cold season and in the hot season, and produce abundantly twice a year for two months each time. There are many varieties of odoriferous plants, fruits, and herbs; too many to detail. The walls of the houses are built of burnt bricks, and the roofs are made of teak and tiles. In Sórath stone is used instead of bricks.

The Kachh horses are active and swift. In speed and action, figure, strength, and appearance, they match with those of Arabia and 'Irák, and are in every way equal to them. The Gujaráti oxen are good draught-cattle;§ they are of a pure white colour, and handsome; indeed, their beauty is the wonder of all beholders.|| Falcons, the rarest, most valuable, are also procurable in that country, and elephants, large as

* *Hisár*, "a fortification." These fences are often so strong as to be virtually impenetrable, and, indeed, are sometimes planted for military purposes.

† *Khirní*, "Mimusops kauki."

‡ This is the Mahomedan name for the peninsula now known as Káthiáwár, the "Kattywar" of old writers. It is undoubtedly a corruption of the ancient Hindú name, "Saurashtra," whence the Saurastrēnē of the Greeks and Romans. It received the name of Káthiáwár later. This was first applied to the eastern portion of it, which was overrun and settled by the Káthí tribe, who migrated from the north, and the name was afterwards extended to the whole peninsula by the Marathas, who first entered it upon its eastern border. It was still known, however, as Saurashtra when visited by Hwen Thsang, in the early part of the seventh century A.D., and is still known to Brahmans by that appellation. *Cf.* Burgess's "Táríkh-i-Sorath," Introduction, pp. 1, 2.

§ Some MSS. add—"and good milkers."

|| This passage is imperfect in the text.

mountains, were formerly hunted in the districts of Rájpíplah and Dóhad, but since the mountain valleys have been closed against them they have disappeared.

As regards weapons, the swords of Siróhí are everywhere renowned. No such arrow-reeds are to be found in any country, so they are sent as rarities in the rough state, or as arrows, to Hindustán, and even to I'rán and other distant countries. Rings, like those of Yemen, rosaries, cups, knife and dagger handles, and other things, are made of agate of various colours. Hand-combs, and other articles of ivory,* are made at Kambháiat, and are carried to various countries and ports, to the profit of the merchants. Cloths, as good as those of Hind, I'rán, Arabia, Abyssinia, Turkey, and Europe, both in texture and dye, are manufactured here.

Salt is another production of the country. In all places on the sea-shore, beds are made, with raised sides, called in the Hindí *kiári*. In the winter time these are filled with water from channels dug near them, and they are left till the salt is deposited.† The salt produced at Kambháiat, and other places, is like coarse sand, and in consequence of the proximity of the river, has a kind of bitter taste, which verifies the saying "There is salt and bitter,"‡ and this is productive of the itch.§ The Indian salt called "black salt," in Hindí named *sanchal*, is produced at that port (*i.e.* Kambháiat), by boiling the grass called *mórand*. It is as hard as a millstone, and is exported to all parts by sea and land. Salt is also produced at the village of Jhinjuwárah, in the *parganah* of Bairámgáón, which is distant from the sea. Here salt water is drawn from wells,

* See Extract from the "Travels of Cæsar Fredericke," in Appendix; also "Jour. Bom. Branch R.A.S.," vol. iii. p. 318.

† This mode of manufacture is practised still on those parts of the coast which are low and covered only at high tides, and where the water evaporates and leaves the salt deposited before another high tide arrives. Another mode is practised on the Rann of Kachh, for which see the "Bombay Gazetteer," vol. iv. pp. 116–124.

‡ Kuran xxv. 52.

§ The word translated "itch" is somewhat doubtful, but this is the most probable meaning of the phrase.

and the salt is obtained by a similar process. It is like lumps of refined sugar, and is very white, pleasant, and wholesome. It is carried to Málwah and other countries, and the customs levied on it add largely to the revenues of the *parganah*.

Another manufacture is that of paper. The paper of Daulatábád and Kashmír is good to write upon, and of excellent quality, but it does not equal that of Ahmadábád in whiteness and purity of material. There are several sorts of this made. When the place of manufacture is in a sandy part of the country, during the process of manufacture particles of sand get into the pulp; these come out while the paper is being burnished, and damage it by making (almost) imperceptible holes in it. In consequence of its whiteness, much is sent, as paper ornamented with gold,* to different parts of India, to Arabia, Turkey, and elsewhere.

Teakwood alone is used for the roofs and pillars of buildings and in the construction of ships. The *shisham*† wood, which is very like ebony, is employed for making bullock-carriages and other things. The quarries of *pathálí* stone,‡ which is found in the hilly country of I'dar, are not met with elsewhere. On account of its whiteness it is used for the walls and roofs of buildings, great garden palaces, mausoleums, &c. The lime which is burnt from it, when it is plastered and polished, is like a looking-glass, and reflects images. When the royal edifices in the citadel of Sháh-Jahánábád were built, in the reign of the Emperor Sháh Jahán, lime was carried from Gujarát on purpose. It has also been used in the construction of the tombs of Mahomedan saints, Hindú temples, and other

* Paper so ornamented is largely used for writing complimentary letters, &c., by persons of rank and wealth in Mahomedan countries.

† The *shisham* and *sísú* are two well-known varieties, the former of which is the Bombay "blackwood." They are produced by two separate varieties of the *Dalbergia, D. latifolia*, and *D. sísú*. In Eastern India, the latter is found, and is known both as *shisham* and *sísú*.

‡ This is a very hard limestone, or rather calcareous sandstone; it is elsewhere called *sang khárá*, or "*hard* stone." The best is obtained from I'dar, but is also found at Gópnáth, Junágarh, and Purbandar. Mr. Burgess has kindly supplied this information.

famous buildings, which are too many to be mentioned here, though some of these will be noticed in the Appendix (*i.e.* of the Mirát-i-Ahmadí).

There are river channels, tanks, and reservoirs,* without number, but in most places the water of the wells is brackish. If all the excellences of this province were to be described, a distinct volume would be required. Its praises and its superiority over other countries have been frequently repeated by the tongues of travellers and wanderers over the earth.

Order is maintained in the province, at the present time, if there be no special matter in hand, by five thousand horse, who go out with the *Názim* at harvest-time, in addition to the local forces of the *faujdárs* and other officials.

Extent and Revenue of the Súbah.

In the reign of Sultán Muzaffar, the last of the Kings of Gujarát, and under the administration of the *wazír* I'timád Khán, in the year 979 A.H., corresponding with 1627 of Rájah Bikramájít (A.D. 1571), there were two *lakhs* and three thousand (2,03,000) horse maintained, and the revenues amounted to five *arbs*,† eighty-four *krórs*, and fifty *lakhs* (5,84,50,00,000)‡

* The word is *báóh*, which is really a large sunken reservoir or well, the water-level in which is reached by stairs. Many of these reservoirs are elaborately ornamented.

† 100 thousand = 1 *lakh* 1,00,000.
100 *lakhs* = 1 *krór* 1,00,00,000.
100 *krórs* = 1 *arb* 1,00,00,00,000.

‡ The kingdom of Gujarát, at the time of its conquest by Akbar, contained twenty-five *sarkárs*, but some of the *sarkárs* were then restored to the provinces from which they had been conquered, and other arrangements were made, reducing the number of *sarkárs* to nine. Therefore, no comparison can be instituted between the revenues of the independent kingdom and the imperial province. The revenues of the kingdom are stated above. The land revenue, under imperial rule, was (in rupees)—

Akbar	1,09,24,122
Jahángír	1,25,00,000
Sháh Jahán	1,32,50,000
Aurangzeb—1654	2,17,32,201
1697	2,33,05,000
1707	1,51,96,228
Muhammad Sháh	1,21,83,600

Thomas, "Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire"; Bird, "History of Gujarat," p. 108. See *infra*, p. 20.

of Gujarátí *tankchahs*, at one hundred *tankchahs* to the rupee. At the present time the rupee is fixed at forty *dáms*. According to the reckoning of the present time, the total amount was five *krórs* and forty-seven *lakhs* of rupees (5,47,00,000).* Twenty-five *lakhs* of *húns* and one *krór* of (double)† *Ibráhímís*, which may be estimated as about five *krórs*, sixty-two *lakhs*, and fifty thousand rupees (5,62,50,000), were received from the Kings of the Dakhin and from the ports of the Europeans and Arabs, as shown in the details hereafter given. This, at least, was the sum which *used* to be received.

When, in the year 955 A.H.,‡ Sultán Bahádar captured the fort of Chítór, but afterwards fled before the Emperor Nasír-uddín Humáiún, he went by ship to the port of Díú, which is in the sea, took refuge in its very strong fort, and there he was treacherously killed by the Europeans; and the port fell into the possession of the Europeans, who hold it to this day.§ The Government of Gujarát, since that sovereign's time, was weak and never recovered full authority, so the above-mentioned tribute was no longer paid.

When the power of the sovereigns of Gujarát was on the increase, many *sarkárs* and ports and neighbouring districts were subdued, and incorporated with the kingdom of Gujarát. In all, there were twenty-five *sarkárs*:—

1. Jódhpúr.
2. Jálór.
3. Nágór.
4. Bassai [Bassein].
5. Mambáí [Bombay].
6. Daman.
7. Rám-nagar.
8. Dúngarpúr.
9. Bánsbalah [or Bánswárah].
10. Siróhí.
11. Kachh.
12. Súnth.

* This may be an error, but it seems to intimate that the Gujarátí rupee fell slightly below the standard of the Moghul rupee of Mahomed Shah's reign. See also p. 11.

† The word occurs in the Hyderábád MS., and seems to be the Hindí *dó bití*, *i.e.* "double."

‡ This is an error. According to the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," the Ráná capitulated in Sha'bán 939 (March 1533). See *infra*.

§ This version of the story is curiously loose and inaccurate, and the date wholly wrong.

13. Dandá-Rájpúrí.
14. Ahmadábád.
15. Baródah.
16. Bharúj [Broach].
17. Nádót [Náudód].
18. Súrat.
19. Chámpánír.
20. Pattan.
21. Sórath.
22. Nawá-nagar.
23. Gódhrah.
24. Malhír.
25. Nandarbár.

The personal establishment of Sultán Muzaffar and others was thirty thousand horse and thirty-two *maháls*, the income of which amounted to ninety *lakhs* of rupees, equivalent to ninety *krórs* of Gujarátí *tankchahs*, which were set apart for this expenditure, viz. :—

	Horse.	Tankchahs.
Sultán Muzaffar . .	10,000	33,00,00,000
I'timád Khán *wazír* . .	9,000	30,00,00,000
Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian	4,000	11,00,00,000
Jhújhár Khán . . .	2,500	6,00,00,000
Malik-us-Shark . .	2,500	4,00,00,000
Wajíh-ul-Mulk, Mumtáz-ul-Mulk and others . .	2,000	6,00,00,000
	30,000	90,00,00,000

The details of the thirty-two *maháls* and the ninety *lakhs* are as follows :—

In the city of Ahmadábád the *sáir* and other taxes amounted to fifteen *krórs* and fifty *lakhs* of Gujarátí *tankchahs* (15,50,00,000), equivalent to fifteen *lakhs* and fifty thousand rupees (15,50,000). Of this—

	Tankchahs.	Rupees.
Cultivated lands in the environs of the city yielded . . .	50,00,000	50,000
Sáir-i-Mándaví (market tolls) .	10,00,00,000	(10,00,000)
Profits of the Mint . . .	3,00,00,000	(3,00,000)
	13,50,00,000	(13,50,000)

A total of thirteen *krórs* and fifty *lakhs* of *tankchahs*.

	Rupees.
From the *Kotwál's* office*	15,000
Dharíchah†	50,000
Nakkhás‡	35,000
Daríbah-i-lákh, on *daríbahs* or stalls for sale of gum-lac	5,000
,, *tárkash*,§ on stalls for sale of wire . .	10,000
,, *afíún*, on stalls for sale of opium . .	5,000
,, *abrésham*, on stalls for sale of silk . .	18,000
Kiráiah-i-bár-kashí,‖ "porterage dues" . . .	5,000
Daríbah-i-marsalí,¶ letter-writers' (?) stalls . .	1,500
Riyásat-i-muhtasib, fines of the *muhtasib's* jurisdiction	5,000
Kiráiah-i-dakákín, rents of shops	15,000
Collections at the gates of twelve *púrahs* or suburbs**	3,500
Ditto of the city gates††	13,000
Ditto of the other *púrahs*	14,000
Dues from sweetmeat shops, &c., &c. . . .	5,000
	2,00,000

* These dues were probably the produce of fines and the sale of unclaimed property, &c., &c.

† *Dharíchah* means, as stated by Bird, "the dues of the Pán market."

‡ *Nakkhós*, dues of the slave market.

§ *Daríbah tárkash* means the dues on the makers of gold and silver thread (*quâ* "wire"). Ahmadábád was celebrated for the manufacture of this article, and it even now exists, and the makers are still called *tárkash*.

‖ *Kiráiah-i-bár-kashí*. In some towns under native government it used to be customary to levy a small toll on every purchase made, or on goods brought to market, and from the produce to pay a staff of official porters who attended the market, loaded and unloaded goods, and in some instances carried them without charge. Weighmen were also often similarly maintained. This amount probably represents the farm or surplus of the dues thus collected.

¶ *Daríbah-i-marsalí*, "customary dues from the regular messengers." This note is given on the authority of Major J. Watson, Political Agent, Káthiáwár, by whose kindness notes † ‡ and § have been likewise furnished.

** "Collections of the twelve *púrahs*." There were originally sixty *púrahs*, or suburbs, of Ahmadábád, but some of these eventually became included within the area of the city when the city walls were extended, probably by Mahmúd Begarha; others were also built subsequently without the city. These twelve may possibly have been those included within the city.

†† "City gates": probably some kind of *octroi*.

Amounting in all to two *krórs* of *tankchahs*, or two *lakhs* of rupees.*

The revenues of the *parganahs* held by Sultán Muzaffar and others were :—

Parganahs.	Villages.	Rupees.
Pitlád	276	20,00,000
Kambháiat	6	4,50,000
(Of this total the cultivation belonging to the city and to Dihwán and Mahmúdpúr, &c., produced 50,000 rupees; and the city dues, the usual market tolls (including ferry dues and other similar items), and the *mír-bahrí*, &c., produced four *lakhs* of rupees.)		
Móndah the *jágír* of Jhújhár Khán	84	5,00,000
Mahmúdábád, &c.	75	7,00,000
Nariád	36	4,00,000
		40,50,000†

The ports make twenty-three *maháls*, but of these the *mahál* of the port of Kambháiat has already been given; deducting that, the *maháls* are twenty-two in number, and their revenues amount to thirty-four *lakhs* of rupees (34,00,000). Five ports appertaining to Gujarát, Bharúj, Súrat, Ghógah, Khandhár [Gandhár], and Ránér, produce a total of twenty-five *lakhs* (20,00,000) of rupees. In the *sarkár* of Sórath there were the port of U'nah, consisting of two *maháls*, the ports of Díú, Púr-bandar (two *maháls*), Mahwah, Pattan Díú, Mangalúr [Mangrol] (two *maháls*), Talájah (four *maháls*), Nágésar,

* These two *lakhs*, together with thirteen and a half *lakhs*, summed up on page 7, complete the total of the revenue of fifteen and a half *lakhs*, which (on page 7 also) is stated to have been derived from the city of Ahmadábád and its environs. The subsequent paragraphs give the revenues of the *parganahs* (40,50,000 rs.) and the revenues of the ports (34,00,000 rs.), which together make up, with the city revenues, the total ninety *lakhs*, from thirty-two *maháls*, described as set apart for the Sultán himself and for his principal nobles.

† The MSS. are very far from being in accord as to these details; the rendering given, therefore, is necessarily somewhat conjectural.

Korínár, Dúngar, Sukhápúr and Chíklí, altogether seventeen, producing fourteen *lakhs* of rupees (14,00,000).

Jágírs of the Amírs.

Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk served the State with ten thousand *madámi** horse, and held :—

Parganahs.	Villages.	Rupees.
Ahmadnagar	44	4,00,000
Purántéj	84†	5,00,000
Chahálah-Bárah	19	2,00,000
Harsúr	84	3,00,000
Morásah	162	8,00,000
Máhkréj (245 villages, but 100 villages held in *in'ám* (50 by the Rájah of I'dar, and 50 by the Rájah of Dúngarpur) being deducted, there are left)	145	2,00,000
Píplód	36	3,00,000
Khatnál Ma'múrábád	44	4,00,000
Bírpúr	165	4,00,000
Bhíl	138	10,00,000
	921	45,00,000

A total of eleven *maháls*, producing thirty *krórs* of Gujarátí *tankchahs* as *tankhwáh* [assignments]. The *ábádán jágírdárs* being added, brings it up to sixty *krórs* of *tankchahs*, or sixty *lakhs* of rupees.‡

* The word *madámi* implies that the men were always present "with the colours," not merely levies liable to be called out when occasion required, *i.e.* men continuously employed.

† Three MSS. agree in giving "eighty," but Bird's translation has eighty-four, and that number is required to make up the total.

‡ All the MSS. agree in this unintelligible statement. Bird gets out of the difficulty by substituting the totals as above shown, "forty-five *krórs* of Gujarát *tankchahs*, or forty-five *lakhs* of rupees." The "*ábádán*" *jágírdárs* were, possibly, men to whom waste lands had been assigned rent-free in order to bring them into cultivation. Major Watson believes the error probably lies in the revenue given as that of the Máhkréj *parganah*, which is very small as stated for the number of villages; perhaps the difference of fifteen *lakhs* may be distributed between this source of error and the *ábádán jágírdárs*.

The *jágír* of Saíd Mírán and Saíd Hámid, sons of Saíd Mubárak, who maintained four thousand horse, was the *parganah* of Dhólkah, containing six hundred and fifteen villages, and producing sixteen *krórs* of *tankchahs*, or sixteen *lakhs* of rupees.

The *jágírs* of Shír Khán Fúládí, who served with seven thousand horse, of Hasan Jamál Khán with five thousand, of Dhókar Khán Sarwání with five thousand, and the assignment to the Sháh-zádah* with five thousand horse, and to the Rájpúts with three thousand, consisted of :—

	Villages.	Tankchahs.
The revenues of the city of Pattan, and of the cultivation of the environs, and the market dues, the tolls, and the *kotwálí* dues	—	1,60,000
Parganah Havélí Pattan† . . .	419	23,50,000
,, Barnagar, with 13 hamlets .	—	85,00,000
,, Bísalnagar, 1 town . .	—	45,000
,, Bíjápúr	98	6,70,000
,, Khirálú	110	5,80,000
,, Pálanpúr	180	5,25,000
,, Dísah	23	2,85,000
,, Jhálawár	400	26,00,000
,, Karí	299	28,00,000
		1,85,15,000

In all ten *maháls*.

As the current value of the *tankchah* of Pattan, &c. was less than that of Gujarát, while in Jhálawár and Karí the value was the same as in Ahmadábád, the nett total was one *arb*,

* *Sháh-zádah* : probably one of the refugee Sháh-zádahs who had fled from the Dehli court.

† *Havélí Pattan*. The word *havélí*, when used with the name of a large city, denotes the revenue sub-division, or *parganah* (*usually* a small one), in which the city is immediately situated.

sixteen *krórs* of *tankchahs*, or one *krór* and sixteen *lakhs* of rupees.

The *jágír* of Rustam Khán and Changéz Khán, sons of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who served with twenty-five thousand horse, and to whom five *thánahs* were entrusted, each *thánah* having five thousand men, consisted of sixty-nine *maháls*, yielding a total revenue of two* *krórs* and twenty-five thousand *Changézí Mahmúdís*, which was equivalent to one *arb*, sixty-two *krórs*, and fifty thousand *tankchahs* of Ahmadábád, or one *krór*, sixty-two *lakhs*, and five hundred rupees (1,62,00,500). The details of the *jágír* are as follows, viz. :—

	Mahals.	Villages.	Changézís.
The *sarkár* of the port of Súrat, but excepting the port itself, the *mandaví*, and the receipts from the cultivated lands in the environs of the town . .	31	996	50,00,000
Sarkár Baródah, with the *mandaví* and the receipts from the cultivation in the environs of the town	1	—	5,00,000
Havélí parganah of Baródah .	1	208	38,00,000
Parganah Dabhói . . .	1	44	8,00,000
,, Sanúr . . .	1	46	5,00,000
,, Bahádurpúr . .	1	27	2,00,000
,, Sónkherah . . .	1	82	2,00,000
	6	407	60,00,000

Altogether six *maháls* and four hundred and eight† villages, with a revenue of sixty *lakhs* of *Changézís*.

* This is the reading of the MSS. without variation; but it is clear from the details of the revenue which follow, that it should be two *krórs* and twenty-five *lakhs*; on the other hand, the equivalent in rupees gives different results from the statement of Násir-ul-Mulk's *jágír*, on p. 14, where a *Changézí* is given as equivalent to half a rupee, and that of Kámil-ul-Mulk, on the same page, which would make the *Changézí* = $\frac{2}{3}$ of a rupee. See note, also, p. 16.

† *Sarkár* Baródah being reckoned as one "village" apparently.

The *sarkár* of Nádót, with twelve *maháls* and a revenue of twenty-five *lakhs* of *Changézís*.

The *sarkár* of Bharúj (Broach) :—

	Villages.	Changézís.
Parganah Havélí Bharúj, including the town but not the port . .	161	30,00,000
Parganah Hánsót . . .	36	4,00,000
„ Dhej-bárah . . .	12	1,50,000
„ Góralbárah . . .	12	2,00,000
„ O'rbár (O'lpár) . .	106	12,00,000
„ Chár-mandavi . .	1	50,000
„ Kulah	36	4,00,000
„ Jambúsar . . .	56	8,00,000
„ O'klésar . . .	55	6,00,000
„ Atlésar . . .	36	2,00,000
„ Tarkésar . . .	12	1,00,000
„ A'mód and Makbúlábád	36	4,00,000
	559	75,00,000

Altogether, twelve *maháls*, four hundred and eighty-nine * (*sic*) villages, producing seventy-five *lakhs* of *Changézís*.

Sarkár Chámpánír :—

	Villages.
Parganah Havélí Chámpánír .	87
„ Sánouli . . .	54
„ Dóhad . . .	100
„ Hálól	34
„ Tímúrah-básnah . .	106
„ Rálód	25
„ Jhálód . . .	17
	423

Altogether, eight *maháls*, four hundred and twenty-five† (*sic*) villages, with a total revenue of fifteen *lakhs* of *Changézís*.‡

* The MSS. differ somewhat as to the details of the villages, and the passage is so far palpably corrupt in all.

† The same remark applies as in the preceding note.

‡ This completes the detail of the *jágír* of Rustam Khán and Changéz Khán, which amounts to sixty-nine *maháls* and two *krórs* and twenty-five *lakhs* of *Changézí Mahmúdís*.

The *jágír* of Násir-ul-Mulk, who served with twelve thousand horse:—

Parganah	Nandurbár . .	25,00,000
„	Sultánpúr . .	15,00,000
„	Hissábah Jamánrá .	10,00,000
		50,00,000

A total of three *maháls*, producing fifty *lakhs* of *Changézís*, equivalent to twenty-five *krórs* of *tankchahs* or twenty-five *lakhs* of rupees.

Bharjí, *zamíndár* of Baglánah, held the forts of Múlér and Sálér, and maintained a service of three thousand horse.

The *jágír* of Kámil-ul-Mulk consisted of the *sarkár* of Gódhrah, containing twelve *maháls*, but from these were deducted two *maháls*, granted free, in consideration of service, to Chharís *zamíndár* of Súnth, and Chatrál Kólí of that place. Deducting these there remained ten *maháls*, with a revenue of fifty *lakhs* of *Changézís*, which is twenty *lakhs* of rupees. The details are:—

		Villages.	Changézís.
Parganah Havélí	Gódhrah . . .	171	20,00,000
„	Sahrá	24	5,00,000
„	Mírál	42	4,00,000
„	Samdah, otherwise Násirábád	42	8,00,000
„	Dódah	36	2,00,000
„	Ambábád	42	2,00,000
„	Jhálód	84	8,00,000
„	Mírdódah	24	10,00,000
„	Lohánah	24	2,00,000
„	Dhámód	12	2,00,000
		501	63,00,000*

* There is a palpable error here also, as the detail of the revenues gives sixty-three *lakhs* against the total of fifty mentioned just before. There is probably an error in the amount set down for *Parganah* Mírdódah, which is shown as having only twenty-four villages, for which a revenue of ten *lakhs* would be excessive; possibly *dah*, "ten," has been written by mistake for *do*, "two." This would reduce the error to five *lakhs*, which possibly occurs in the revenue assigned to Samdah, Sahrá, and Jhálód, which all seem high, or it may be distributed among them.

Ghaznaví Khán, son of Malik Khán-jí Jálórí, served with seven thousand horse, and held *jágírs* amounting to ten *krórs* of *tankchahs*, or ten *lakhs* of rupees, of which the following is the detail.

From Jálór :—

	Rupees.
The Mint, the produce of the market tolls and the receipts of the *parganah* of eleven *maháls* and six hundred and sixty villages . .	3,00,070
From the *ta'alukah* of Jódhpúr Talpad in the *khálsah sarkár* of the Sultán, a fourth share belonged to the *zamíndárs*, who served with their contingent of three thousand horse under Ghaznaví Khán	2,00,075
From the *ta'alukah* of the city of Nágór, which, after lying several years waste, was re-peopled and had its ruined fort rebuilt, through the representations of Malik Khán-jí Afghán. A half of the lands and villages and *parganahs* were settled as the *watan* * of the Rájpúts, who furnished two thousand horse to serve under Ghaznaví Khán . .	2,55,000
From *ta'alukah* Mirthah in *Sarkár* Nágór. Half the *parganah* belongs to the *zamíndárs*. From all the villages the *zamíndárs* receive a fourth share, and maintain a force of three thousand horse to serve under Ghaznaví Khán, and they had to supply three thousand additional horse whenever the Governor of Ahmadábád went out on an important enterprise †	2,00,000
	9,55,145‡

* *Watan*, the land revenue of their own property, remitted as official remuneration.

† The original expression is somewhat doubtful; it may be "whenever the ruler of Ahmadábád came into the *parganah* on any business."

‡ Here, again, is a discrepancy between the total given and the details; but all the MSS. agree, and the error is probably that of the writer or some very early copyist.

Rájah Jai Singh, *zamíndár* of Rájpíplah, served the King of Ahmadábád with three hundred horse and one thousand foot, and his tribute was remitted.

The *jágírs* of Fateh Kháu, Rustam Khán, and other Biluchís, who served with fourteen thousand regularly enrolled horse, consisted of :—

	Mahmúdís.
Parganah Rádhanpúr, with the market tolls	15,00,000
,, Samí	5,00,000
,, Múnjpúr	8,00,000
,, Kákréj	7,00,000
,, Jarwárah	8,00,000
,, Mórwárah	4,00,000
,, Sánthalpúr	3,00,000
,, Thárad, with the market tolls, &c.	15,00,000
,, Morbí	10,00,000
	75,00,000

Altogether, nine *mahál*s, with a sum total of seventy-five *lakhs* of *Mahmúdís*,* or thirty *lakhs* of rupees.

The Rájpút *zamíndárs*, mentioned below, enjoyed the profits of their hereditary estates (*watan*) on condition of service, and the revenues were remitted.

	Horse.
Púnjá Ráthór, *zamíndár* of I'dar . . .	2,000
Ráná Sahas Mal, *zamíndár* of Dúngarpúr .	1,000
The Baghélahs† and Jhálahs, who held all the *grás* of Jháláwár	1,000

* "The traveller Mandelslo (in 1633) says that the Mahmúdís are made at Surat, of a very base alloy, are worth about twelve pence sterling, and go only at Surat, Baroda, Boitschia (Broach), Cambaiya, and those parts. There were twenty-six *peyse* in his time to a Mahmúdí, and fifty-four to a rupee." "*Ropaias chagam* (*i.e.* Changézís) were of very good silver, and worth half-a-crown French money."—Bird. Mr. E. Thomas, "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. iii., 3rd series, quotes Sir Thomas Herbert as saying (about 1676 A.D.), "a Mahmudi is twelve pence, a rupee two shillings and three pence." It is clear, however, from the other quotation in this paper, that the relative value of silver coin and small change varied not only from time to time, but also according to locality.

† "Baghélahs" or "Waghélahs."

	Horse.
Jám Satá and others, who held four hundred villages in *grás* in the country of Sórath .	4,000
Bihárá Khéngár, *zamíndár* of Bhuj, who held one thousand four hundred and nine villages	5,000
	13,000

The *jágírs* of Amín Khán, Fateh Khán, and Tátár Khán Ghórí consisted of nine thousand villages belonging to Júnahgarh (constituting) eighty-seven *maháls*. Seventeen of these *maháls* consisting of ports, which are accounted for separately, being deducted, there remain seventy *maháls*. Of these, *parganahs* form sixty *maháls*, and *kasbahs* (towns) form ten, and the total produce is one *krór* of rupees (1,00,00,000).

Other sources supplied payments up to the reign of Sultán Bahádar, to the amount of one *krór* of *Ibráhímís* and twenty-five *lakhs* of *húns*.

The *bandars* (ports and emporiums) constituted, in all, eighty-four *maháls*. Twenty-three of these have been accounted for separately as belonging to Gujarát and the *sarkár* of Sórath. There remain sixty-one *maháls*, and these produced one *krór* of *Ibráhímís*, according to the following detail:—

	Ibráhímís.
The ports of Díú and other towns in Sórath, belonging to Malik A'íáz and Malik Tóghán: Díú, Maháim* (in Hyd. MS. "Mahúr"), Bádápúr, and Ráj-pattan, four *maháls*	2,00,000
The port of Daman, dependent on Súrat with seven hundred villages	43,00,000
Total .	45,00,000
The ports of the Europeans,† twenty-three *maháls*	20,00,000

* "Maháim," in some MSS. "Bhím."

† The term is "Faringi"; as Dutch and English are separately mentioned, this term may, perhaps, be intended only to denote Portuguese, or Portuguese and French together, which last two, being of the same faith, might easily be confounded one with another.

Ibráhímís

Their names were Chéwal [Chaul], Dábhól [Dabul], Baláwal [Víráwal],* Basé [Bassein], Dandá [?Reva dandá] Mál-welí, Agásí,† Saráb, Kalián,‡ Bhímrí [Bhewndí], Dandá-Rájpúrí, Lobá,§ Mambé [Bombay], Khari-kot,‖ Káhilan [? Quilon], Koklia,¶ Dás, Madrat Kálbaní [or Kálpí**], Malibár, Mál-díú [Maldives], Dhora, Shasht-bandar,†† Nówá-nagar.

The ports of the Arabs, twenty-seven *maháls*,‡‡ give 25,00,000

Their names were Maskat [Muscat],§§ Makrána [Makrán], Basrah [Bussorah], Búshahr [Búshire], Láharí [in Sind], Hurmaz [Ormuz], Sádah [? Queddah], Negu [Pegu], Dehnásrí [Tenasserim], Malkat, Makínah [? Malinda, Manilla], Maltah, Sawál [? Tavoy], Hodrilá [? Hodaida in Red Sea], Punamá [? Manama in Persian Gulf], Badar-jí Khán, Bídar [? Pedir in Sumatra], Parbhái bandar [or Bírbahai bandar], Bedásanah, Bandar-i-Chín [ports of China], Malákhah, [Malacca], Bedrasá [? Madras, or, perhaps, Bhadresar in Gulf of Kachh], Kalsán, Damár, Rákal [? Rákhang = Arracan], Jáwah [Java].

* The port of Somnát.

† The town and the river of "Agaçaim" (Agásai or Agásín) are frequently mentioned by the Portuguese writers. The town was on the creek north of Bassein. Couto says it was north of Bassein, and Faria y Sousa that it was fourteen leagues from Chaul.—See Appendix, "Faria y Sousa," Tom. I., Pt. IV., Chap. IV.

‡ On the river which joins the sea at Bassein. The Kalliénē of the Greeks.

§ The MSS. used agree in this reading, but Bird has "Gobá" (Goa), which may perhaps be correct. Major Watson also has this latter reading in his MSS.

‖ Also "Kharí-pattan." It is Gheria, the port of Angria.

¶ ? perhaps "Kocha" (or "Koja," as in Hyderábád MS.) for Cochin. The Hyderábád MS. has also "Shashsat" for "Shasht" bandar.

** ? Kálpaní, one of the Laccadives.

†† "Nand-sust," in one copy; "Shashsat" in Hyderábád MS.

‡‡ Only twenty-six names are given, except in the Hyderábád MS., which gives a Bídír after Bídar, but this may be an error.

§§ Colonel Yule has kindly suggested some of these identifications; but, as said in the note regarding this subject, given on the next page, perfect accuracy is not to be expected from this author, who appears merely to have copied the names from old revenue accounts, and candidly admits that his list may be incorrect.

	Ibráhímís.
The ports of the English were four *maháls*, and of the Dutch two *maháls*: total six, producing	10,00,000
(Total, one *krór*)	1,00,00,000*

Nizám Sháh Bahrí, 'A'dil Sháh Bíjápúrí, Háshim of Birár and Ilichpúr, Kutb Sháh of Golkondah, and Rájah 'Alí Khán of Burhánpúr, used to pay every year, as tribute (*peshkash*), twenty-five *lakhs* of *húns*—25,00,000 *húns*.†

The statements above made may appear to many incredible, yet, on a reference to the "*Mirát-i-Sikandarí*," such persons will be amazed at the power and greatness of the kings and nobles of Gujarát, the numbers of their armies, and the abundance of their wealth. More, indeed, might be said. The magnificence of Malik Aíáz,‡ slave of Mahmúd Bigarha, is itself a proof of what has been stated. Other evidences of the magnificence of those times are the fine gardens and palaces, the forts, the masjids, the tanks, and the wells, all still existing. Although there are no mountains in the neighbourhood of Ahmadábád, yet the city is built of hard stone§ brought from places at a great distance.

The details of the *sarkárs* and the tributes have been copied from the records of Múl Chand, who, like his forefathers, was Record Keeper to the (local) Administration (*Nizámat*). No

* It is not to be supposed, of course, that all these ports as enumerated paid tribute direct to Bahádar Sháh. Many, such as "Maltah," and "Malákhah," were far beyond his juri-diction, but import dues paid on goods coming thence were set down under this head. Moreover, it is clear that the names of the ports have been extracted from the original records, and set down without much regard to accuracy of nomenclature or to geographical sequence of position.

† This makes up the total of the miscellaneous returns annually to one *krór* of *Ibráhímís* and 25,00,000 *húns*, which were received in Bahádar Sháh's time.

‡ Some account of this nobleman will be found further on in the account of the reigns of Mahmúd Bigarha and his successor Muzaffar.

§ This is سنگ خارا *sang khárá*, the "hard" stone, or *Pathílí* stone, already described in note ‡ on p. 4. It was employed not only in the construction of Ahmadábád, but also of Anhilwárah Pattan.

other source of information was obtainable, so there may be some errors in the names of the ports, &c. Sultán Sikandar Bahlól, King of Dehlí, frequently observed that "the support of the throne of Dehlí is wheat and *jowár*, and the foundation of the realm of Gujarát is coral and pearls, for there are eighty-four ports under the throne of Gujarát."

On the length and breadth and the four boundaries of the Province, its sarkárs, parganáhs, ports, villages, and cultivation; its total productions, and revenues of former years, as ascertained after the conquest of the Emperor Akbar.

Its length was two hundred and ninety *kós*; on the east side from Ahmadábád to Bánsbalah, bounded by the province of Málwah, one hundred and twenty *kós*; on the west, from Ahmadábád to Dwárká, otherwise called Jagat, one hundred and seventy *kós*, bounded by the sea. Its breadth was three hundred *kós*. On the north, from Ahmadábád to Bar-gáon, bordering on the *sarkár* of Jálór in A'jmír, one hundred and ten *kós*; on the south, one hundred and ninety *kós*—that is, from Ahmadábád to the port of Súrat one hundred and ten *kós*, and from Súrat to the pass of Khánápúr, near to Khándésh and Baglánah, eighty *kós*.

At the time of the Emperor Akbar's conquest, there were twenty-five *sarkárs* belonging to the kingdom of Gujarát. Nine of these *sarkárs* had been acquired by the Kings of Gujarát as conquests from other provinces, and under the orders of the Emperor, these *sarkárs* were reannexed to their original provinces by the *Súbadár* Sháháb-ud-dín Ahmad Khán* in the year 986 H. (1578 A.D.). The *sarkárs* of Jódhpúr, Jálór, and Nágór, were united to A'jmír; Mulhér and Nandurbár to Khándésh; the *sarkárs* of Basé [Bassein], Mambé [Bombay],

* Sháháb-ud-dín Khán. Some notice will be found in the closing chapter of this volume of this able and vigorous officer.

and Daman in the low land of the Kókan were in the possession of the hat-wearing Europeans; the *sarkár* of Dandá-Rájpurí in the possession of Malik 'Ambar. It is recorded that Sultán Bahádar of Gujarát gave this *sarkár* as dowry with his daughter, to Malik 'Ambar,* in charge of the gate of Daulatábád. In the reign of Akbar sixteen *sarkárs* were settled as belonging to the province of Gujarát. Ten of these paid their revenues into the Imperial treasury; (of these,) one, the *sarkár* of Súrat, belonged to the revenue officials of the province; the remaining nine belonged to the *díwání* (revenue administrator) of the Súbah.

Sarkárs.	Mahálls.
Ahmadábád	33
Bharúj	14
Pattan	17
Baródah	14
Nádót	12
Chámpánír	13
Godhrah	11
Sórath	63
Nawá-nagar, or Islám-nagar	17
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The last-named was wrongfully overrun by the Jám in the reign of the Emperor 'A'lamgír, and is in his occupation still. The *sarkárs* comprised one hundred and eighty-four *mahálls* in cities and *parganahs*, fifteen ports, and ten thousand four hundred and sixty-five and a half villages. Two hamlets (*púrah*) besides these were not entered in the records because they were held by *zamíndárs*. The area measured, during a period of six

* The expression in the original is حارس کرکے دولت آباد, which seems to imply some special command in the garrison. An officer of this name (Malik 'Ambar) is mentioned as in rebellion against Akbar and Jahángír, in the "A'ín-i-Akbari," vol. i. pp. 337 and 339, Blochmann's translation; but this can hardly have been the same person as the Malik 'Ambar of the text.

months, by Rájah Tódar Mal, in the reign of the Emperor Akbar, and under his orders, amounted to one *krór*, twenty-three *lakhs*, sixty thousand five hundred and ninety-four *bighahs*, and nine *biswahs* (1,23,60,594.9). Eighty-three *lakhs*, forty-seven thousand four hundred and ninety-eight *bighahs*, and three *biswahs* were cultivable; the rest was built upon or was jungle. The whole of the *sarkárs* of Sórath, Gódhrah, and Islám-nagar, and forty-nine *maháls* belonging to other *sarkárs* were not measured, so their area does not appear in the revenue records.

The *sarkárs* not under regular revenue assessment, but belonging to *zamíndárs*, and only paying tribute when exacted by the *názim* of the province with an army,* were the *sarkárs* of Dúngarpúr, Bánsbalah, Kachh or Sulímán-nagar [Islám-nagar], Síróhí, Súnth, and the *sarkár* of Rám-nagar, the tribute of which belonged to the governor† of the port of Súrat.‡ Although these *sarkárs*, in preceding reigns, were never under the *díwán* of the province, the total revenue, exclusive of the port of Súrat and of course of remissions, and surplus collections, amounted to seventy-nine *krórs*, ninety-six *lakhs*, forty-five thousand two hundred and thirteen *dáms* (79,96,45,213). This was the total up to the time of the Emperor Muhamad Sháh.

Of this sum, twenty *krórs*, eighty-two *lakhs*, and three hundred and forty-two *dáms* (20,82,00,342) went into the private treasury of the Emperor (*khálsah-i-sharífah*), and was appropriated for his personal use. Two *krórs* and twenty *lakhs*

* This was what was commonly known as *mulk-gírí*, "taking the country," and was constantly practised by the Kings of Gujarát and their successors, in territories which they had subjugated but had not brought under regular settlement. The "Názim" was a governor or high officer, whose especial duty it was to look after the military and police of a *súbah*, or government, and generally to preserve order. In the later days of the Moghul empire, he was usually confined to these duties; the *díwání*, *i.e.* the revenue and civil administration, being given to another officer.

† The Hyderábád MS. has "to the revenue official (*mutsaddir*) of Súrat."

‡ With the ten *sarkárs* previously enumerated, these six make up the total of the sixteen *sarkárs* which Akbar allotted to the province of Gujarát.

of *dáms* (2,20,00,000) went for the expenses of the government of the *súbah*. Besides his personal *jágírs* and those of his subordinates, and in addition to the payments from the *zamíndárs*, twenty-four *lakhs* were assigned to the *názim* of the province. The balance was appropriated to the pay of the *amírs*, *mansabdárs** (whether at head-quarters or detached), and other officers, and the contingents of the *faujdárs* of the province.

Nearly one *krór* and twenty *lakhs* of *dáms*, fifty thousand *bighas* of cultivable land, one hundred and three villages, and one *lakh* and forty thousand rupees in cash from the government treasury, besides the gifts made by governors from their own *jágírs*, were bestowed under royal grants and orders in various departments in *madad ma'ásh* and *in'ám* grants, and in monthly and daily payments to distinguished sáíds and shékhs.

There were, one with another, two hundred and fifty-two stations of *faujdárs*† and *thánahdárs*†; two hundred and three forts, great and small, of stone and brick, besides forts which various persons have built since.

The total receipts of a year (*hásil-i-sál-i-akmal*) amounted to one *krór*, twenty-three *lakhs*, fifty-six thousand rupees. The total expended amounted to one *krór* of rupees, and in former times to sixty *lakhs* of rupees, besides the tribute payable to the imperial throne and to the *názims*.

* *Mansabdárs* were a kind of official ranking according to the men they were expected to supply for war, &c., so that their allowances practically corresponded to their rank; and, therefore, *mansab* will usually be rendered "allowances" in the following pages. (For fuller particulars, see vol. i. "A'ín-i-Akbari," Blochmann's translation.)

† Grades of officials with police authority and criminal jurisdiction. The latter name is sometimes also given to the officer in command of a small military post, but it is here used in the former sense no doubt.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY HISTORY OF GUJARÁT.*

In ancient times the country of Gujarát was in the possession of Rájpúts and Kólís. All the chiefs were independent,† and exercised no power or authority over each other; but year by year the army of Rájah Phúr Déó,‡ Rájah of Kanauj, who at that time was lord paramount of all the Rájahs of Hindustán, came into the country, and, after receiving something by way of tribute,§ returned. At length this Rájah put to death a dependant named Sáwant Singh (who was of evil disposition, and had raised a sedition), and gave up his house to plunder. Sáwant Singh's wife, who was pregnant, terrified at the death

* It is intended to give a summary of the pre-Mahomedan history of Gujarát in the Appendix to Vol. II.; only a few explanatory notes, therefore, are given in connection with the text.

† The story as here told is not inconsistent with what little is known from other sources of the history of Gujarát at the period to which the passage relates. The dynasty of the Valabhís, which had for several centuries been apparently the superior over many or most of the petty local chiefs in Gujarát, owed itself, it seems probable, at least a nominal allegiance to the Kanauj kings. The Valabhí dynasty, however, was pretty certainly broken up by internal dissensions about the middle of the seventh century A.D., and the state of affairs described by the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," as existing at the close of that century, is just what might be expected to result under such circumstances, that is to say, the coexistence of a congeries of petty independent states, nominally tributary to Kanauj.

‡ *Rájah Phúr Déó*, in some MSS. *Bhúr Déó*. It *may* perhaps stand for پوار *Púár*, and refer to the tribe of the then ruling dynasty of Kanauj; if so, the passage would read, "the Púár Rájah Rájah Déo of Kanauj."

§ The original is بعنوانِ پیشکش.

of her husband, lost her senses, and, as fated by heaven, wandered towards Gujarát, and in an uninhabited waste gave birth to a son. One day a person named Sabal Déó* discovered her, and he, after learning her circumstances, took compassion on her. He placed her in charge of one of his attendants, who brought her to Rádhanpúr, and carefully attended to the nurture of the boy. When the lad came to years of discretion he frequented abandoned and desperate company, and became a highway robber and a vagabond. It so happened that some treasure which was being conveyed from Gujarát to Kanauj fell into his hands. Thenceforward Fortune favoured him, and by degrees he established an independent authority in that part of the country. He was joined by a grain-dealer named Chámpá,† who restrained him from his evil courses, and guided him to a reputable course of life. In his fiftieth year he had established his rule and assumed the title of Ban Ráj ("The Forest King"). He laid out the city of Pattan, and made it his seat of government, and from that time Pattan was the capital of Gujarát, until the founding of the mighty city of Ahmadábád. When he resolved upon constructing the city of Pattan he went out on an expedition, avowedly for pleasure and for hunting, but really in order to discover and select a suitable site. A shepherd named Anhal became aware of his real design, and agreed to show the King a suitable spot, on condition that his own name, "Anhal," should be given to the projected city. He stated that he had there seen a hare deliver herself from the jaws of a dog by its courage and daring. The town was built, and was accordingly called Anhal-wárah, which by degrees was corrupted into Nahr-wárah, or Nahr-

* The MSS. all agree in this name, which by Bird, however, is given as "Rájah Síl." Tod calls him "Sailag Súr Acharya." Ban Ráj is said to have allied himself with a robber chief, called Súrapal of Máólah. Tod's "Western India," p. 153. The Rás Mála calls the father Jay Shakar, t adopted father Shílgan Súri, and the Rájah of Kanauj Bhím.

† Some MSS. have another word after that rendered "grain-dealer" the Hyderábád MS. it reads as "Sanériá." The "Sanériahs" are a tribe of plundering vagrants.

wálah. When it was completed, and a pleasant city, it was called Pattan, a Hindí word which signifies a "choice" city, and it was also called the "Seat of the Throne." The year 802* of Bikramájít, corresponding with 130 H. (747 A.D.), or, as some say, 202 H. (817 A.D.), is the date of the foundation.†

Be it known that Rájahs of these tribes have held rule in this kingdom, the Cháwarahs,‡ the Solankhís, and the Bághélahs. Authorities differ as to the number of kings of each family and the duration of their rule. The *A'ín-i-Akbarí* of Ab-úl-Fazl records that the number of persons of the three families was twenty-three, and the period of their authority five hundred and seventy-five years and four months, until the time when the Musulmáns obtained the ascendancy.

Of the Cháwarah race there were seven persons.

1.	Ban Ráj, who first ascended the throne, and died when about .	60 years of age.
2.	Jóg Ráj, his son, who succeeded his father, and reigned . .	35 years.
3.	Khém, or Bhím Ráj . . .	25 „
4.	Rájah Pithór	29 „
5.	Rájah Bijé Singh . . .	25 „
6.	Rájah Ráwat Singh . . .	15 „
7.	Sáwant Singh, the last . .	7 „
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For one hundred and ninety-six years this tribe of Cháwarahs continued to reign.

* Some MSS. have 812, but, of course, neither date is consistent with the Hijra dates given. The preponderance of authority is in favour of 802.

† The Hyderábád MS. here gives some astronomical details regarding the date, evidently taken from a Hindú authority, but they are incorrectly transcribed and unintelligible, and are not, therefore, reproduced.

‡ Tod, "Travels in Western India," p. 153, gives a tradition that the name Ban Ráj's father was Jasráj—a Saurah prince of Déó-bandar (Díú)—and ders the word *Cháwarh*, or *Cháwah*, to be merely a mispronunciation of h.

The sovereignty passed from the Cháwarahs to the Sólankhís* in the following manner:—Rájah Sáwant Singh Cháwarah, the last of his race, had a daughter, whom he married to a man of the Sólankhí tribe. She died before childbirth, and a male child was born by the Cæsarean operation. The moon was in the mansion *Shaulah*, which in Hindí is called *Múl*, and so the boy was named Múl Ráj. The Rájah brought him up as his son, and took great pains with his education. When the boy came to years of discretion, Sáwant Singh, when intoxicated with the purple wine, named him heir-apparent. When he came to himself he repudiated his drunken declaration. Nevertheless, after he passed away from this mortal world, Múl Ráj Sólankhí, watching his opportunity, got possession of the Ráj. After this, ten individuals of his race reigned two hundred and fifty-six years, three months, and two days.

	Years.	Months.	Days.
1. Múl Ráj	56	—	—
2. Jámand	12	1	2
3. Balayá	—	7	—
4. Dúlá, brother of Jámand .	8	—	—
5. Rájah Bhím Déo . .	42	—	—
6. Rájah Karan . . .	31	—	—
7. Sid Ráj Jai Singh . .	50	—	—
8. Kúnwar Pál . . .	30	3	3
9. Ají Pál, poisoned his master and seized his power.	3	1	2
10. Lakhú Múl Déo, descended from a brother of Bhím Déo	20	—	—
	253	3	7

* The Sólankhí kings were probably Chálukya or Chaulukya Rájpúts, Sólankhí being apparently a local corruption of that name; it is sufficient to say here that the outline of their history given in this place is a fair approximation to the truth. It is intended to give further details in the Appendix to Vol. II.

In the reign of Jámand Sólankhí,* in the year 416 H. (1025 A.D.), Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní marched by way of Multán with the intention of waging religious war against Sómnát.† He came through the territories of Nahrwálah Pattan. Rájah Jámand, feeling unable to resist him, abandoned Pattan and fled. Sultán Mahmúd then established himself in that city, and having refitted his army there, proceeded thence against Sómnát, and succeeded in his enterprise in Zí-k'adah of the same year. After the conquest of Sómnát, he learned that Rájah Jámand, who had fled from his approach, had shut himself up in a fort about forty-five *kós* distant. Mahmúd conceived the design of capturing that fort,‡ and marched against it. When he arrived there he found that the fort was protected by deep water, which encircled it on all sides. Two divers were brought before him, whom he questioned regarding the depth of the water. They informed him that there was a place at which a passage was possible, but that if the flood tide should come in during the transit every man would be drowned. Mahmúd, trusting in the favour of God, entered the water and arrived with his cavalry safe at the foot of the fort. Rájah Jámand, when he was informed of this, fled precipitately, and immense spoil fell into the hands of the army of Islám. The people of the garrison were slain. The author of the "Rauzat-us-Safá" has given a wonderful account of this conquest.§

It is related that after Mahmúd had succeeded in the conquest of Sómnát, he proposed to remain there for some years, because the country was of great extent, but especially because in those parts there were mines where pure gold was found, and, moreover, Serandíp (Ceylon) was the place whence all

* The wrong name is given, Bhím Déo (Bhíma Déva) was the king who was really on the throne at the time of Mahmúd's invasion.

† The Persian spelling of this name is adopted here.

‡ It is intended to discuss the locality of this fort in the Appendix to Vol. II.

§ See an account of a ballad describing the fall of Somnát, by Colonel Watson, in the "Indian Antiq.," vol. viii. p. 133.

precious stones * were brought to Hindustán, and it was in the neighbourhood of that country. His ministers represented that it would be impolitic to abandon Khorasán, and to make Sómnát his capital. The Sultán decided to return; but he said that it would be necessary to appoint someone to undertake the settlement and defence of the country (*i.e.* Sómnát). His courtiers represented that, as his authority in the country would not be great, it would be politic to select for the appointment some native of the locality.

The Sultán accordingly discussed the matter with those people of the country who were well disposed and loyal to him. Certain of them remarked that there was no one who, as regards nobility and ancient descent, could compare with the family of the local rulers, and that there was one scion of that race still remaining, who had assumed the garb of a Brahman and occupied himself with learning and religious austerities; and it was represented that if the King were disposed to give the government to him, it would be an unobjectionable arrangement. Others contradicted this statement, and said this ascetic,† Dábishalím, was a man of evil disposition, and that it was by Divine mercy that he had been brought low, and that his austerities and (self-) discipline were not voluntary, but that he had been for some time cast into prison by his own kindred, and that to save his life he had sought refuge in an ascetic's cell. There was (they said) another Dábishalím, a relative of the first-named, who was thoroughly versed in the wisdom and lore of the Brahmans, and who at that time was actually ruling in such and such a province; and they said that the best thing the Sultán could do would be to nominate *him* to the government, and to send him a summons. He would certainly come, and would take fitting measures for the establishment and settlement of the King's authority. He was a man straightforward and true to

* ياقوت *yákút*, literally, "rubies or sapphires."
† مرتاز *murtáz*.

his word, and if he undertook to pay the revenue and tribute, he would, in spite of the long distance, transmit it regularly year by year to the Ghazni treasury. The Sultán said that if this personage (the second Dábishalím) had come to him and asked for the government, it would have been accorded to him; but that it was hardly expedient to make over so important a kingdom to a man who, being already accepted as a ruler in Hindustán, had not up to that moment paid any tribute or offered any fealty. In fine, he desired Dábishalím the Ascetic to be summoned, and gave the kingdom to him. This person undertook to pay the revenue and tribute, and said that he would never in all his life do anything at variance with the Sultán's interests, and would transmit to the Sultán's treasury all the gold and precious stones produced from the mines of Hindustán. But (he represented) that besides himself there was another Dábishalím who bore him desperate enmity; in fact, there had been already war and bloodshed between them. It was not to be doubted that as soon as this man heard of the Sultán's departure, he would attack him, and since he could not be then prepared, he would assuredly be overthrown and his adversary would get possession of the kingdom. If, however (he said), the Sultán would now march against his enemy, the malevolence of the latter would be averted, and he himself would undertake to pay into the Ghazni treasury a revenue equal to that of both Khorasán and Kábul. The Sultán said that he had started from Ghazni for the purpose of waging a religious war, and had not returned thither for three whole years, and it would not much signify if he did not return for another six months. So he accordingly started to attack Dábishalím's kingdom. The people of Sómnát told (the ascetic) Dábishalím that he had not done well in inciting the King to this attack, and that a person whom the Lord had blessed with majesty and glory, and deemed worthy of honour, would not be overcome by any endeavour or accusation on his part. This saying was reported to the Sultán, who was shaken in his

resolution. Still, as he had already ordered the expedition, and was never disposed to cancel or alter his orders, he eventually marched against that country, and, having conquered Dábishalím's dominions, he brought him away captive, and offered to make him over to Dábishalím the Ascetic. This Dábishalím, however, represented that according to his religion it was a grievous sin to put a royal personage to death; indeed, the whole army would be disgusted with any king who put another to death, and would revolt against him. The practice of the kings of those parts was, when they had overcome an enemy, to make a narrow cell underneath their throne, and in this to place this enemy on a seat (*masnad*), and then to close the doors, leaving only a small aperture, which was daily opened, [through it food was given to the prisoner,*] and it was then closed again.

During the time that the reigning king lived, his enemy remained in this dungeon. Dábishalím the Ascetic, however, said that he did not feel himself strong enough to keep his enemy confined in this fashion, and he entreated the Sultán to take the captive away with himself to Ghazni; but requested that when he had established his kingdom and was confirmed on the throne, the Sultán would send his enemy back to him again, that he might keep him in confinement in the manner described. If the King, he said, would consent, it would be a great condescension. The Sultán agreed to the proposal, and sounded the drum of departure. Dábishalím the Ascetic ascended the throne of Sómnát, and sent after the Sultán rarities and costly gifts, and ingratiated himself with the ministers by various services. Accordingly, after he was established in his kingdom, in transmitting treasure and jewels to the Sultán, he sent also for his enemy. The Sultán hesitated to despatch the latter, not liking to deliver an innocent man

* These words are not found in the text, but as they occur in the "Majmá-i-Wasáyá," and are evidently necessary to the sense, they are inserted in this translation.

into the hands of his foe; but Dábishalím the Ascetic had, by his valuable gifts, made the ministers and courtiers his partizans, and they all declared that it was quite unnecessary to waste pity on an infidel Káfir, and that, moreover, the King ought not to violate his promises and his oath, and that such conduct would virtually be an act of hostility against Dábishalím the Ascetic, and that he might lose his authority in Sómnát thereby. The Sultán, on the persuasion of his nobles, delivered over the young man to the people of Dábishalím the Ascetic, and wrote letters to the chiefs of India to the effect that they were to forward him to the borders of Sómnát.

When he reached the territories of Sómnát, Dábishalím the Ascetic ordered the cell under the throne to be prepared, according to custom. Now it was also a practice with the Kings of Sómnát, whenever an enemy was brought near the seat of government, that the King should go out one stage to meet him, and should place on his head his private basin and water-ewer, and then make him go before his horse's head as far as the palace. After that the King seated himself on his throne, and his enemy was confined in the dungeon, and seated on the cushion within it. Dábishalím the Ascetic, in accordance with this custom, went out; but there was some delay in the reception of his enemy, and he determined to hunt. So the King and his troops employed themselves till the air grew hot, and the King's followers took shelter in holes and corners. Dábishalím the Ascetic himself sat down under the shade of a tree, cast a red handkerchief over his face, and went to sleep. In that jungle were many (flying) creatures, with strong claws and sharp beaks, and one of these, flying by, imagined that the red handkerchief was a piece of meat, so swooped down from the air, struck its claw into the handkerchief, and carried it off in its beak; one of Dábishalím the Ascetic's eyes was blinded by the blow of that creature's beak. Confusion fell on the army, and, simultaneously, they brought in the young man. When the courtiers saw that Dábishalím the Ascetic

had been supernaturally afflicted,* and that a miraculous fate had befallen him, and that, moreover, except the young man, no one else had any right or claim by kindred to the throne, they unanimously saluted the latter as King. A small minority who opposed were overpowered, and the same basin and water-ewer which had been brought for that youth were placed on the head of Dábishalím the Ascetic, and they made him run (before them) to the royal palace, and sent him to be confined in the cell which had been constructed. Glory be to God, that in the twinkling of an eye was manifested the accuracy of the tradition; or, as Khwájah Khusrú says,—

Who digs a pitfall for his hated foe
Digs his own pathway to the realms below.

[The episode here related at length is found in several historical works, and has been the subject of considerable comment by European scholars, who, for the most part, have not regarded it as of any historical value. It is shown, however, by the quotation given in vol. ii. of the "Mahomedan Historians of India," p. 500, that the story is at least as old as the "Majmá-i-Wasáyá," the author of which, Nizám-ul-Mulk, was a person of rank and official position, likely to have access to trustworthy sources of information, and died only half a century after Mahmúd. The author of the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," appears, indeed, to have had the "Majmá-i-Wasáyá" before him, for he has copied the narrative almost verbatim, as may be seen by comparing the version given above with that to be found in the volume of the "Mahomedan Historians" just quoted (and which was corrected by the late Sir Henry Elliot himself). Nor are the leading facts of the story, as told, in themselves at all impossible, or indeed improbable, though the details may be somewhat "embellished." It is not claimed for either Dábishalím (whatever Hindu name that appellation represents) that he was a member of the family of the Sólankhí kings of Gujarát, or that the kingdom which Mahmúd committed to one of them was that of Gujarát. On the contrary, it is distinctly called the kingdom of Sómnát, and the clear inference, from the language employed, is that they were members of a local dynasty, which had once been in power there, but had been ousted. Hwén Thsang found Saurásháshtra governed by a local dynasty, tributary to Valabhí, in the first half of the seventh century A.D., and Sómnát is in Saurásháshtra. The statement of the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" is, that the country of Gujarát was, at the close of that century, broken up into many petty kingdoms, independent of each other; and this statement is corroborated by the recent discovery of several petty dynasties, so that the existence of a local dynasty at Sómnát is quite in accordance with what we know of the history of that time. Moreover, that such a dynasty should have been expelled, or have come to an end shortly before Mahmúd's advent, is also in accordance with facts. As has been already said, Saurásháshtra was at some time after the seventh century overrun by Káshís, Jharéjáhs, and other tribes from the north, in all

* The word rendered "supernaturally afflicted" is dubious in the text; it has been read as معنون, literally, "insane" or "bewitched," which is, perhaps, capable of bearing the meaning assigned to it above.

probability expelled thence by the earlier Mahomedan invaders; indeed, the "Tárikh-i-Sórath" (Burgess's translation, p. 240), expressly gives Hijáj's invasion as the cause of the migration of the Jharéjáhs to the south, and of their seizure of Bhúj.

Nor is the action attributed to Mahmúd himself unlikely; in fact, the early Mahomedan invaders of India often adopted such a policy, and committed the charge of territories which they had overrun, but could not permanently occupy, to native rulers willing to yield more or less subordination to themselves, and were thus enabled to some extent to maintain their power over the conquests they had made. If the representatives of an ancient and popular but ousted dynasty were on the spot, they would be exactly the class of persons who would be selected for such a charge. So far the story has every element of probability about it, and may, perhaps, be accepted as true.

But the purport of the rest of the story is evidently to give a plausible explanation of the fact that the nominee of the conqueror was ere long expelled by a popular rising, and the local influence of the Mahomedan power in its recent conquests destroyed. There is, therefore, every likelihood of the facts being more or less distorted, so as to soothe Mahomedan susceptibilities. At the same time, all the details are not in themselves violently improbable, and it is only their combination to produce the ultimate effect which is extraordinary. Moreover, there are certain of these details which show that the story must, at least, have been put together by someone having a pretty accurate knowledge of India, and of the prejudices of its inhabitants. It is not incredible that, having selected his nominee, the Sultán should use his power to suppress anyone who was likely to offer opposition to his arrangements. The accident, also, which is described as occurring to Dábishalím the Ascetic, is quite within the bounds of possibility. Some of the Indian birds of prey, notably the common kite or *chíl* (*Milvus Govinda*) are very bold. These last-named birds are well known often to swoop on the baskets in which meat is carried from market, and to carry off portions. In defence of their nests, they will fly at persons who incautiously approach too near them, striking at their faces. The Editor has known several such cases, and in one a wound was inflicted which narrowly missed destroying one eye of the person attacked. Again, there is no doubt of the superstition, widespread in India, which regards a one-eyed person (*káná*, or, more properly, *kánrá*) as of ill omen. The story of the local customs and the mode of treating conquered enemies is possibly fictitious, though not entirely out of keeping with tales reported in other cases. So far, at any rate, as the policy adopted by Mahmúd in dealing with the territory of Sómnát, and the broad fact that his nominee did not long succeed in maintaining himself, the facts may, perhaps, be safely accepted as authentic history. The remaining details are possibly true, but equally likely to have been invented to modify the unpalatable story of the result.]

While Rájah Bhím Déo* held the sovereignty of Nahr-wálah, Mu'iż-ud-dín bin Sám, otherwise called Shaháb-ud-dín, becoming governor of Ghazní in 570 A.H. as deputy of his brother, led an army to U'ch in the year 574 H. (1178 A.D.), and wrested that country from the Karmátians. He also subdued Multán, and

* This name is correctly given; the monarch was Bhíma Déva, the second of that name, of the Sólankhí race, who reigned from about 1178 A.D. to 1241 A.D.

proposed to march through the sandy desert against Gujarát. Rájah Bhím Déo met him, and, after a hard-fought battle, inflicted such a defeat upon him that he had much difficulty in getting back to Ghazní.*

In the year 589 (1193 A.D.) Kutb-ud-dín Aibak, the deputy of Mu'iz-ud-dín at Dehlí, which in those days was the capital of India, led an army to Nahrwálah, in Gujarát, and revenged the Sultán upon Bhím Déo in a fitting manner.

Rájah Sidh Ráj Jai Singh Sólankhí, when he was ruler, conquered the land as far as Málwah, Burhánpúr, &c. He built several great forts, such as those of Bharúj, Dabhoí, &c. He constructed the tank of Sihattar-ling† at Pattan. He also protected various tanks in Bairamgáón and in Sórath, by facing them round with stone. He founded Sidhpúr, and in it the famous temple of Rúdar Mál, celebrated far and wide. It is related that when he founded this temple he asked the astrologers to fix an auspicious time for the work, and they foretold that the edifice would fall into the power of one 'Alá-ud-dín, who would become sovereign of Dehlí. The Rájah believed in this prediction, and sought to make a treaty with the aforesaid Sultán,‡ who said that, if he did not fulfil

* The subjoined passage from the "Táríkh-i-Sórath," though transferred to Mahmúd, evidently relates to this defeat. It is curious (though of late date and probably only handing down the story of tradition) in regard to its account of the disposal of the captives, which, if read in the light of Sir A. Lyall's researches as to the proselytising action of Hindús, is not *per se* improbable; probably, too, pure Hindú prejudices had in that part of India been a good deal shaken by the prevalence of Buddhism, which certainly had not long been extinguished in that neighbourhood. "Sháh Mahmúd fled in dismay and saved his life. Turkish, Affghan, and Moghul female prisoners . . . were disposed of after the command, 'The wicked women to the wicked men and the good women to the good men' (Kurán, xxiv. 25). . . . Respectable men were compelled to shave their heads and were enrolled among the Chakawál and Wádhál tribes of Rájpúts, while the lower kinds were allotted to the castes of Kólís, Kháuts, Bábriás, and Méirs; all, however, were allowed to retain the wedding and funeral ceremonies current among themselves, and to remain aloof from other classes."—"Táríkh-i-Sórath" (Burgess, pp. 112, 113).

† This name is so spelt in the text, but it represents the Sanskrit *Sahasralinga*.—See "Mahomedan Historians of India," vol. v. p. 268.

‡ This is, of course, a palpable fable. Síddha Rájah died long before 'Alá-ud-dín Khelji was born.

the astrologers' prediction, he would at least establish there Mahomedan law. When, after a while, 'Alá-ud-dín became Sultán, he led an army there, and left behind him the marks of Mahomedan supremacy by erecting masjids and minars. This Rájah constructed many other idol temples and tanks with stone, too numerous to recount.

The transfer of the sovereignty from the Sólankhís to the Bághélahs occurred in this way:—Rájah Lakhú Múl Déo, the last of the Sólankhís, left behind him no son fit to rule, so the government passed into the hands of the Bághélahs, and six sovereigns of this line reigned for one hundred and twenty-six years, one month, and two days.*

	Years.	Months.
1. Rájah Andól Múl Déo .	12	5
2. Rájah Bísal Déo, who built Bísal-nagar . . .	34	6
3. Rájah Bhím Déo . . .	42	—
4. Rájah Arjun Déo . . .	10	—
5. Rájah Sárang Déo . .	21	—
6. Rájah Karan Déo . . .	6	2½
	126	1½†

As it was the desire of the Eternal and Unchangeable One that the light of Islám and the practice of the one law should be made manifest in these parts, (therefore) the rule of the three races of infidel kings came to an end, in order that the throne might pass into the possession of the people specially endowed with the faith of purity and the law of patience, and in order that the light of the sun of the (true) faith should flash from all four quarters on the obscurity of unbelief; so that, by

* This is a rather meagre account. As a matter of fact, the Bághélahs were connected by intermarriage with the Sólankhís.

† This list is approximately correct as to the names; but probably the first was never actually King of *Nahrwárah*, and the third seems an interpolation. The period of the reigns is also probably inaccurate as well as that of the duration of their dynasty.

acquaintance with the true creed and the observance of the injunctions of the (true) faith, the people might be turned from error,* and might be guided from the valley of terrible despair to the pleasant highway of the commandments. This came to pass when 'Alá-ud-dín was established on the throne of Dehlí. He was a God-fearing man and the protector of his people, and was obedient to the law, even in the extremes of prosperity and adversity. In consultation with the 'Ulemá of the day he was styled in the *khutbah* "The warrior in the cause of God,"† and he was generally known by that title when he came to the throne, which he did in the year 695 H. (1296 A.D.). In 696 he sent an army to conquer Gujarat, under the command of Ulugh Khán (who is written and spoken of among the Gujarátís as Alp Khán‡) and Nasrat Khán Jálesarí. These Kháns arrived at Nahrwárah, or Pattan, and ravaged the country round. Rájah Karan, the last of the Bághélah dynasty, gave battle, but being worsted, fled to Déogarh Chándah.§ His wives and daughters, and treasures and elephants, fell into the hands of the champions of Islám. The Kháns acquired much treasure and many jewels from the merchants of Kambháiat, and they broke in pieces the idol of Somnát, which had been set up afresh after one had been destroyed by Sultán Mahmúd of Ghazní. They sent all the effects and treasures, and elephants, and the wives and daughters of Rájah Karan, to the Sultán at Dehlí. A daughter of the Rájah of Pattan, whose name was Déwal Dé, arrived at Dehlí with the other prisoners. She was very beautiful, and Khizr Khán, son of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, fell in love with her. The Sultán gave her

* The passage is dubious in the MSS.; only an approximate meaning can therefore be given here.

† المجاهد فى سبيل الله. It is possible that 'Alá-ud-dín used this title in the *khutbah*, but it does not appear on his coins, though it does on those of several later monarchs.

‡ This double appellation has, as will be seen, caused some confusion. 'Alá ud-dín had originally four principal nobles, two of whom were called Ulugh Khán, viz. his own brother, and Alp Khán, his wife's brother.

§ According to Ziá Baraní and Firishtah, "to Rám Déo of Déógír."

to him in marriage, and he himself also formed a matrimonial connexion with Déwal Dé's mother. Amír Khusrú Dehlawí has written a poem on the subject called "'Ashíkah,"* which is widely celebrated, but it might be understood from that work that, as Déwal Dé was of tender years and great beauty, Ulugh Khán adopted her as his daughter, though at last he, by the Sultán's command, gave her to Khizr Khán.

After the conquest of Nahrwálah and the expulsion of Rájah Karan, Ulugh Khán carried on the government, and henceforward *názims* were regularly appointed to the province by the Sultáns of Dehlí. It is said that the great masjid, built of hard stone, and called the A'dínah masjid, which is still standing, was erected by Ulugh Khán. There is a common saying among the people regarding it, which purports that so many columns are employed in its construction that people make mistakes in counting them. There is a fine masjid which, it is said, at that time stood in the centre of the city, but is now far away from the inhabited part.† There are many remains of grand buildings which show what a great and splendid city Pattan was in olden times. For nearly three *kós* round the present city the ground is strewed with bricks and blocks, which attest the truth of this relation. Ruined bastions and walls found in the open country likewise prove this. In the lapse of ages, from the construction of new buildings and other changes in the city, many vestiges of old times have disappeared. During the times of the Rájahs so much marble was brought from Ajmír for the construction of temples and other buildings, that abundance of it is found at the present time on digging in the ground. All the marble used at Ahmadábád and other places was brought from thence.‡

* See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iii. p. 552.

† The MSS. differ here, and some seem to refer to an idol temple converted into a *masjid*, and make this the *masjid* now at a distance from the city. The Hyderábád MS. has been followed here.

‡ Firishtah and Ziá Baraní give some more particulars of this conquest of Gujarát. Both place the invasion in 'Alá-ud-dín's *third* year, *i.e.* in 697 A.H., and this is pretty certainly the true date, for both the noblemen employed

Ulugh Khán governed Gujarát as *Názim* on behalf of 'Alá-ud-dín for twenty years,* but towards the close of that monarch's reign he was recalled, and through an accusation arising out of the enmity of the favourite eunuch, Malik Náíb, who was then *wazír*, he was put to death, without any just cause. By the intrigues, also, of Malik Náíb, Khizr Khán, the son of 'Alá-ud-dín, was arrested and confined in the fort of Gwáliár. The Sultán shortly afterwards expired; he had

in this invasion were engaged first in reducing the party of the late king's sons, who were in arms at Multán, and afterwards in repelling the inroad of the Moghals under Kadur, who came through the Punjáb, and were defeated on the left bank of the Sutlej. It is also said that it was from Gujarát, and at this time, that Malik Káfúr, the eunuch who became the all-powerful *wazír* of 'Alá-ud-dín in his later years, was brought among the slaves captured. When the expedition was over, and when the troops had reached Jhálláwar, a revolt occurred in the army commanded by these nobles, who demanded from their troops one-fifth of the spoil, and resorted to harsh measures to enforce their orders. Part of their army was composed of "new Musulmáns," that is, of Moghals who, when the rest of their hordes retired from India, remained behind, embraced Mahomedanism, and were taken into Government service. Their allegiance probably sat lightly on them, and, when thus disgusted, they rose in revolt under one of their leaders, named Muhamad Sháh. They succeeded in killing a nephew of Ulugh Khán (and of the Sultán), and also Malik 'Iz-ud-dín, the brother of Nasrat Khán. The revolt, though serious, was ultimately suppressed . . . and the offensive demands being pressed no further, the army proceeded peaceably to Dehli. On their arrival there, the Sultán and Nasrat Khán, especially the latter, avenged their relatives by the most revolting cruelties committed on the families of the mutineers, who had, for the most part, themselves escaped. Some of them, however, later on were captured at Rautambhór, notably Muhamad Sháh, their leader, and were then put to death.—"Mahomedan Historians of India," vol. iii. pp. 147, 148, 163–65, 179; and Firishtah, vol. i., Briggs' translation, pp. 327–29, 343.

* This is an error into which the author of the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" has been led by the double use of the title of Ulugh Khán, already noticed. Rautambhór proved fatal both to Nasrat Khán and to the real Ulugh Khán, the King's brother; the former was killed at the outset of the siege, and Ulugh Khán, to whom the charge of that fortress was committed, on its capture in 700 A.H., fell sick there within six months afterwards, and died on his way to Dehlí, whither his body was conveyed for burial. It does not seem certain even that he *remained* in charge of Gujarát for any length of time, inasmuch as, when summoned to Rautambhór, he is described as being at Baiánah; and he was certainly present in the action with the Moghals, under Katlagh and Targin, near the city of Dehlí, where Zafar Khán was killed, about the close of 697 A.H. ("Mahomedan Historians," vol. iii. pp. 75, 165–68, 171, 172, 179; and Firishtah, vol. i., Briggs' translation, p. 344.) Alp Khán, the King's *brother-in-law*, was the person who, as described in the text, was put to death by 'Alá-ud-dín, shortly before his death in 715 A.H., at the instigation of Malik Káfúr. He was one of the four chief nobles of 'Alá-ud-dín's court, as already said. ("Mahomedan Historians," vol. iii. p. 208.)

reigned for twenty-one years, and died in the year 715 A.H. It is said that Malik Náíb had gained such power over the King that he procured the dismissal of Khizr Khán from his position as heir-apparent, and put Shaháb-ud-dín, the Sultán's youngest son, on the throne, and bestowed on him the title of King, but himself exercised all the real power and authority, and sent a barber to blind Khizr Khán. Things remained in this state for one month and five days, and then certain of the chiefs of 'Alá-ud-dín's time slew him. In the eighteenth year of his age, the nobles and courtiers brought Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak Sháh, the son of the (late) Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, out of his prison, and placed him on the throne.

After Ulugh Khán was recalled from Gujarát and killed by 'Alá-ud-dín, great disorders arose in that country. Kutb-ud-dín, having succeeded his father on the throne of Dehlí, he sent Malik Kamál-ud-dín* to restore order, but he obtained the honour of martyrdom, and the disturbances became greater than ever. In this conjuncture 'Aín-ul-Mulk Multání was sent with an army; he managed admirably, settled the country, and gave it peace. After the disorders were suppressed, Malik Dínár, father of the Sultán's wife, was honoured with the title of Zafar Khán, and was sent as *Názim* to Gujarát. In the course of three or four months he brought all things into order, and sent large sums of money to the imperial treasury. The Sultán then recalled this noble, who was the pillar of his throne, and put him to death for no fault on his part. Hisám-ud-dín was brother,† by the mother's side, of Khusrú Khán, the great favourite of the Sultán. This Hisám-ud-dín received all the equipage of Zafar Khán, and was sent to Gujarát. When

* Ziá Baraní speaks of him as "Kamál-ud-dín Gurg," probably a nick-name. Ziá Baraní says, also, that Alp Khán was the name of the rebel leader who defeated and slew Kamál-ud-dín. The date is not given. It was certainly in 716 A.H.

† Ziá Baraní calls him "uncle" (*i.e.* "mother's brother") in one place; this may be *meant* also here, if so, we should read, "kinsman on the mother's side."

he arrived he assembled the Pramár tribe,* to which Khusrú Khán and he belonged, and was about to rebel. The other *Amírs* who were with him, discovering his base design, sent him a prisoner to the Sultán. Malik Wajíh-ud-dín Kuraishí was appointed his successor. He was renowned as a valiant and experienced man, and he delivered Gujarát from the distress brought upon it by his predecessor. Towards the end of the Sultán's reign he was summoned to court, was made *wazír*, and received the title of Táj-ul-Mulk.

Khusrú Khán was a Hindu boy of the Pramár (*Parwárí*) tribe,† with whose beauty the Sultán was enamoured. He had obtained complete power and ascendancy over him; so that he procured for himself the appointment as Governor of Gujarát. Not content with this, his wicked heart aspired to the throne. He killed the Sultán, placed himself on the throne, and gathered his tribesmen around him. He styled himself Násir-ud-dín. Kutb-ud-dín Mubárak had reigned four years and four months. Khusrú was killed by Ghází Malik, one of the nobles of 'Alá-ud-dín, who, having heard of his wicked act, took up arms against him,‡ and, being joined by other nobles, gave battle to Khusrú, and, having taken him prisoner, cut him in small pieces, and distributed them all over the kingdom. As there remained no descendants of 'Alá-ud-dín, the nobles unanimously placed Ghází Malik on the throne, in the year 720 A.H., with the title of Ghiás-ud-dín Toghlak Sháh. To-

* The word in the text seems intended for "Pramár," and the expressions used with it would rather lead to the belief that the two brothers belonged to some powerful tribe, such as the "Pramár" Rajpúts were. But Zíá Baraní and Firishtah speak of him as a "Parwárí," which is a very low caste, and, indeed, the general tenor of all their narratives seems to indicate the usurper as being a man of mean origin. In the case of the murderer of Mahmúd III. (*infra*), who was a "Parmár" or "bird-catcher" (a class who are always men of low caste), the similarity of names gave rise to a curious play upon words, which is preserved in the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," as will be mentioned hereafter.

† *Hindú bachah az kóm-i-Pramár.*

‡ "Ghází Malik at first felt his hands tied, inasmuch as his son was at Dehlí, and in the power of Khusrú; but when the son escaped to him, he promptly took action against the usurper." (See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iii. pp. 225–28.)

wards the close of his reign he made an expedition against Gujarát, and appointed Táj-ud-dín Ja'far to be *Názim* of that province. When he had reigned four years and some months, the ceiling of his palace suddenly fell and killed him, with six other persons.

After him, Sultán Muhamad Sháh, his son, came to the throne. He was a king fully versed in the traditions of the (true) faith, and also in most of the sciences; his knowledge reached far and wide; he personally listened to the complaints of his subjects; in fact, a detailed account (of his merits) would be superfluous. Having appointed Malik Mukbil, son of a musician, who had received the title of Khán Jahán Náib Bakhtiár, was appointed *Názim* of Gujarát. This person, while marching to Dehlí with treasure and horses for the royal stable, by way of Baródah and Dabhóí, was plundered by the *amír-i-sadagán*, and flying, arrived alone at Nahrwálah. The Sultán, in great anger, led an army to Gujarát, and remained there two years, in which he reduced the fort of Girnál (Girnár).* Khéngár, Rájah of the country of Kachh, came to wait upon him. When he retired, he left Nizám-ul-Mulk as *Názim* in Gujarát. While marching back, he was seized with an illness, and after a few days his end came, and he departed to another world. He had reigned twenty-seven years.

[*As this expedition of Muhamad Toghlak to Gujarát, and the causes which led to it, were very important factors in producing the state of things which led to the establishment of independent local dynasties in Western and Central India, extracts from the "Táríkh Fíróz Sháhí" will now be given, in which will be found a somewhat full account of these transactions.*]

* It will be seen that the Sultán practically marched from Dehlí in 745 A.H., and remained in western India till his death, which took place in 752 A.H., so that he was some six or seven years absent from Dehlí. As to the alleged capture of Girnár, more will be said in another place.

At the end of the year (apparently 744 A.H.) in which he summoned Katlagh Khán* from Déógír to Dehlí, the Sultán made over the entire province of Málwah to 'Azíz Himár,† who had originally been nominated to Dhár; and in order that he might proceed thither in state, and with a suitable escort, gave him several *lakhs* of *tankahs*, and, when he was leaving, supplied him with everything he required for his journey. The Sultán thus directed him: "You see, 'Azíz, how risings are occurring in all directions, and that sedition is spreading, and I am told that everyone who revolts does so in expectation that he will receive the aid of the *amírán-i-sadah*,‡ who, for the

* Katlagh Khán, who had been the Sultán's tutor, had for some time held the government of the Dakhin, with his head-quarters at Déógír (Daulatábád). Apparently the Sultán was led to suspect his integrity, and therefore recalled him. He does not appear to have himself merited any reproach, but he had obtained a strong footing in the province, and his followers, who were much disgusted at his recall, seem, from one or two passages, in some cases not to have behaved subsequently with much loyalty to the Sultán.

† 'Azíz Himár is hardly ever mentioned by Ziá Baraní without some disrespectful, not to say coarse, epithet reflecting on his low origin. These will not be usually reproduced in the extracts given. Firishtah says that he was originally a wine-seller. As stated by that author (vol. i. p. 134, Briggs' translation), the Sultán at this time took it into his head to promote and place in situations of trust various persons of low birth, whom he thought would be thus personally devoted to him, and more likely to serve him with fidelity than men of family. One of these was Malik Mukbil, a personal slave, who, as has been mentioned already, was made *náib*, or deputy-*wazír* of Gujarát. He is not to be confounded with Malik Makbúl, who was a very different person.

‡ *Amírán-i-sadah*. It has been thought best to give the original expression in the text. It is said to be a Moghal technical term for a "captain of a hundred" (صده), but in this place it rather designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "free lances" of the Middle Ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries, and foreigners, at least for the most part; some were probably remnants of the "New Musulmáns," or converted Moghal settlers, of whom mention has already been made; though some, as will appear from the narrative, were most certainly Affghán adventurers. Loyalty sits lightly on troops of this class, and they have ever been notorious for violence and rapine. In Alá-ud-dín's reign the New Musulmáns had originated at least two serious disturbances, one, already described, in Gujarát, and a second directed against the person of 'Alá-ud-dín himself ("Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 205), an attempt which almost resulted in the extermination of all of the class who were then in India. Ziá Baraní, who does not extenuate Muhamad Toghlak's faults, does not here charge him with directing the exercise of any undue severity. He did, however, subsequently adopt and reward the savage treachery of 'Azíz Himár; and though Ziá Baraní expresses himself at a loss to account for his Sovereign's conduct, it must be remembered that, in his rage and alarm, Muhamad Toghlak afterwards even surpassed the bad faith and cruelty of 'Azíz Himár, especially in the case of the *amírán-i-sadah* of Bharúj

sake of violence and plunder, join him; and this is the reason that rebellion succeeds. Mind, therefore, if you find in Dhár any of these *amírán-i-sadah* whom you consider to be turbulent and seditious, you must suppress them, as you see fit, and as you find yourself able to do so. Now depart to your province, and take up the government with good heart."

That low-born creature set forth from Dehlí in great pomp, and arrived at Dhár, with certain vile persons who had joined him, and whom he entertained as companions, and in his vulgar ignorance set to work on the affairs of Dhár.

One day it came into the head of that man of evil origin to cause some eighty odd* of the *amírán-i-sadah*, and leaders of the Dhár forces, to be arrested. He announced that he considered the risings and seditions which had occurred in that neighbourhood afforded ground for the execution of the *amírán-i-sadah*, and he caused the whole to be at once put to death in his presence.† It was the intention of that ill-fated wretch that, by making the mere fact of being an *amír-i-sadah* a capital offence, the whole of the *amírán-i-sadah* of Dhár and Gujarát and elsewhere would be alarmed, and so rebel (at once); for he did not think that the army of the King ought to be at the mercy of their conspiracies and seditions. When the intelligence that the *amírán-i-sadah* of Dhár had been executed, merely as such, reached those of Déógír and Gujarát, they took warning, and in every place in these two provinces where there were any of them they collected together, and rebellion, tumult, and recusance became rife in the land. Thus, from the evil act of that worthless son of rubbish, disunion was introduced into the kingdom. When 'Azíz Himár wrote a strong report on the simultaneous execution of the *amírán-i-sadah* of Dhár, the Sultán sent him a special robe of honour,

* "Eighty odd"; further on, "eighty-nine." Firishtah says "seventy."

† Or "before the palace." The text followed here is that of the "Bibliotheca Indica," which appears slightly to differ from that employed in the "Mahomedan Historians"; but some of the readings of the latter which appear preferable will be occasionally adopted.

and a complimentary answer; and as the kingdom was destined to ruin, all the great officers and courtiers were instructed, each of them, to send congratulations to 'Azíz, and to praise his wicked act, and, besides, to send him a robe of honour, and a horse fully equipped.

* * * * * *

At the time when 'Azíz Himár committed this foul act, Mukbil,* the deputy *wazír* of Gujarát, was on his road to join the Sultán, with horses for the cavalry, and with treasure which he had collected in Gujarát, by way of Dabhóí and Baródah. When he reached the confines of those districts, the local *amírán-i-sadah* . . . attacked him, took from him all his horses, and the money he was bringing, and destroyed all the fine stuffs, cloths, and other goods which the merchants of Gujarát were bringing under Mukbil's escort. He himself escaped to Nahrwálah, but his party was utterly routed. The *amírán-i-sadah* of Baródah and Dabhóí gained power and reputation from the acquisition of so much treasure and so many horses, and the revolt increased. The insurgents assembled troops and marched against Kambháiat. At the news of this rising of the *amírán-i-sadah* of Baródah and Dabhóí, the whole province of Gujarát was thrown into an uproar, and the country was turned upside down.

In the end of Ramzán 745 A.H., news of this outbreak, and of the defeat of Mukbil, and of the capture of his treasure and horses, reached the Court. Sultán Muhamad grew very anxious at the report of the rebellion, which had grown to be very serious, and proposed to march in person to Gujarát for its suppression. Katlagh Khán, who had the privileges of the Sultán's preceptor, sent by the author of this work to say . . . that if they (the rebels) learned that the King's headquarters were advancing against them, they would be terrified,

* For Mukbil, see note † p. 43. Firishtah says that Mukbil took alarm at the attitude of the *amírán-i-sadah* after the massacre at Dhár, and was making off, with all the treasure he could lay his hands on, towards Dehlí.

and fly into Hindú territories, and get out of the way; and the *amírs* of other territories would (also) be alarmed at the Sultán's advance, and by fear of punishment, and would get their heads turned. If permitted, he would equip a force from his own private resources, suppress the disturbances, and put a rope round the necks of the insurgents. . . . The writer delivered this proposal, which, however, did not find acceptance with the Sultán,* who vouchsafed no answer, but merely directed that the preparations for his march should be completed with all speed, and that the troops should be fully equipped. . . . The Sultán appointed, as co-regents during his absence, Fíróz Sháh (afterwards Sultán), Malik Kabír, and Ahmad Aiáz. He marched out of the royal palace as far as Sultánpúr, which is fifteen *kós* from Dehlí, when three or four days only remained to the end of Ramzán, during which he halted at Sultánpúr. While there a report arrived from 'Azíz Himár, relating the circumstances of the outbreak, and saying that, as he was the nearest authority at hand, he had put the Dhár forces in the field, and proposed to march and extinguish the fire of the *amírán-i-sadah's* revolt. The Sultán became still more anxious on hearing of 'Azíz Himár's march, and remarked that 'Azíz Himár knew nothing of war, and might not improbably be destroyed by the insurgents. Immediately following this news came the intelligence that 'Azíz had started, and encountered the rebels, and that in the engagement he became paralyzed† (with fright?), fell from his horse, helpless and insensible, and was captured by the rebels, who put him to a very cruel death. Insurrection succeeded insurrection. . . . From Sultánpúr the Sultán marched, by regular stages, towards Gujarát, and when he came to Nahr-

* It is not unlikely that the Sultán, who was already somewhat prejudiced against Katlagh Khán, distrusted the sincerity of his proposal, and may have thought that the revolt was in some degree due to the dissatisfaction of Katlagh Khán's dependants with his removal; as, indeed, from Firishtah's account, would seem to have been to some extent the truth.

† دست و پائے گم کرد *dast o pái gum kard.*

wálah, he sent Shékh Mu'iz-ud-dín, with some other officials, into the city; but, leaving that city on his left, he himself proceeded towards the hills of Abhú.* These are not far from Baródah and Dabhóí, so the Sultán despatched thither the commander of the forces† with a considerable detachment. He attacked the insurgents, who were unable to make head against him and were defeated. Very many of their horse were killed, and the rest, after their rout, fled with their families towards Déógír. The Sultán marched from the Abhú hills to Bharúj, and thence despatched Malik Makbúl,‡ deputy *wazír*, with part of the Dehlí army, some of the Bharúj local troops, and some of the *amírán-i-sadah* of Bharúj, in pursuit of the fugitives. He overtook them on the banks of the Narbadah,§ attacked, defeated, and utterly overthrew them. The greater part of them were slain, and their families and property fell into the hands of Malik Makbúl. A few of their leaders escaped on bare-backed horses to Mán Sing, chief of the hills of Salér and Mahér, who imprisoned them, and plundered them of all their valuables (cash, goods, jewels, and pearls), and the mischief they had caused in Gujarát was suppressed. Malik Makbúl remained for some days on the banks of the Narbadah, and, in accordance with written orders, arrested most of the *amírán-i-sadah* of Bharúj, who had been detached with them, and put them all to death. Of those who escaped the sword of the deputy *wazír*, some fled towards Déógír, and some to the chiefs‖ of Gujarát. Sultán Muhamad remained some time at Bharúj, and made very close demands and rigorous inquiry

* *Abhú*, probably for *Abú*.

† The name of this officer is not given.

‡ Malik Makbúl, *not* apparently Malik Mukbil. It is, perhaps, probable that this is the officer whose history Shams-i-Siráj relates under the title of "Khán Jehán." ("Mahomedan Historians," vol. iii. pp. 367, 368). He was originally a Hindu of rank from Telingana, who was converted by Muhamad Toghlak, and under Fíróz Sháh attained to very high dignity.

§ *Narbadah*. This name is variously spelt Narbadá, Narmadah, and Narbadah.

‖ مقدمان *mukaddamán*. This is rendered "chiefs." They were probably mere petty local chiefs, of varying power and dignity, governing probably small *ta'luks* or groups of villages.

regarding the revenue of both Bharúj and Kambháiat, which had fallen into arrears for some years past. He appointed strict accountants, and, by very severe measures, recovered a very large sum of money.

At this time the Sultán's rage was yet more than ever inflamed against the people, and revenge filled his breast. Anyone who had disputed with the deputy *wazír* (Mukbil), or had had the least connection with the rebellion, he seized and put to death; a great many persons of all classes were led to execution. . . . While the Sultán was staying at Bharúj he deputed (two persons) to call before him and to try all the evil-doers at Déógír. (These were) Zín Bandah and one of the younger sons of Rukn Thánésárí, who were themselves the leaders of all the evil-doers of that time, and who were more wicked than anyone in the world. The son of the Thánésárí, the vilest of men, arrived at Déógír, and Zín Bandah, who was such a wretched infidel that he was known as Majd-ul-Mulk,* was still on his way thither, when it began to be whispered abroad among the Mahomedan population of Déógír that two men of bad character had been deputed to summon, to try, and put to death the disloyal of those parts; that one had made his appearance and the other was said to have reached Dhár. It so happened, by chance or the design of Providence, that just at that time the Sultán despatched two leading nobles to the brother of Katlagh Khán, with a written order directing him to prepare fifteen hundred horse, and, with the leading *amírán-i-sadah* to send them to Bharúj. The two nobles of the Court accordingly went to Déógír, and Maulana Nizám-ud-dín, as he was ordered, made an advance of pay to fifteen hundred horse, and made them over, with the leading *amírán-i-sadah*, to these two nobles, who had been sent for them, to go to Bharúj. The

* "Zín Bandah" and the "son of the Thánésárí" were apparently—especially the former, whose name appears to designate his original connection with the stable—two of the low-born men whom the Sultán had selected for office. The nickname of Majd-ul-Mulk is possibly a mislection for (مفسد), Majíh-ul-Mulk, "Ruinous to the Kingdom," or something equivalent.

amírán-i-sadah of Déógír, with the fifteen hundred horsemen who were their own followers, when they came to the first march on the road to Bharúj, were seized with alarm lest they had been summoned to Court only to be put to death, and that if they went thither not one of them would ever come back, but that all *amírán-i-sadah* would be put to death. They discussed this matter among themselves, and went into revolt.* They put to death the two nobles who had come from Court, turned back with a loud clamour, and, entering the royal palace, seized Maulánà Nizàm-ud-dín,† the Governor, and put him in prison, and they caught and executed the officials who had been sent as a commission to Déógír from Court. The son of the Thánésárí they cut to pieces. They took the treasure out of the fort of Dharágír, and made Malik Affghán, the brother of Malik I'l Affghán, who was one of the *amírán-i-sadah* attached to the garrison of Déógír, their leader. They placed him on the throne, divided the treasure among the soldiers of the place, horse and foot, and parcelled out the Mahrattah districts among the various *amírán-i-sadah.* Some of the rebelliously-disposed joined and assisted the Affgháns, the *amírán-i-sadah* of Baródah and Dabhóí, who had come from Mandéo to Déógír, and the rebellion there became serious. The people were well-inclined to the rebels.

When the news of this revolt of the Déógír *amírs* reached the Sultán, he gave orders for a large force to take the field, and marched against Déógír. The head-quarters proceeded thither by regular steps. The Déógír insurgents opposed, and gave

* Firishtah's account is (Briggs' translation, vol. ii. p. 286) that one of these nobles was a certain Ahmad Lá Chín, who endeavoured to extort bribes from the *amírán-i-sadah* chiefs, promising to stand their friend at Court. Disappointed in this, he spoke openly of them as deserving of death; and whatever the King's real intention may have been (Firishtah says it was to distribute them in distant provinces), the *amírán-i-sadah* chiefs had good cause, at least after the treatment of their Bharúj companions, to expect the worst.

† Maulánà Nizám-ud-dín was a brother of Katlagh Khán, and had been sent from Bharúj, on his brother's removal, temporarily to fill his place at Déógír.

battle. Sultán Muhamad defeated them, and they were routed; the greater part of their horse were killed in the action, and Malik Affghán, their leader, who had assumed the royal umbrella, and had named himself Sultán Násir-ud-dín, with his friends and allies and their families, retired to Dharágír. The rebels of whom he was the leader hid themselves in that fort, while Hasan Gángú, the insurgents of Bidár, and the brethren of Malik Affghán, fled before the royal troops to their own districts.* The inhabitants of Déógír, Musulmán and Hindu, civil or military, were all spoiled and plundered. The Sultán deputed 'Imád-ul-Mulk Sutéz Sultání, with some other chiefs, to Yulbargah, and directed him to remain at that place and bring the surrounding country into his possession, and to summon and search out those who had fled before the King's army, and to get them into his power and to put an end to their mischief. . . . The Sultán was occupied in settling Déógír, and in bringing into order the Mahrattah country, and in dividing the districts among his chiefs. The work of settling the details of the civil and military administration had not yet been completed, when news came from Gujarát that the traitor Taghi, who was a cobbler by trade, and who had been a slave of Safdar Malik Sultání, had gained over several of the *amírán i-sadah* of Gujarát, and had broken out into revolt, and that several of the chiefs of Gujarát had joined him. He had entered Nahrwálah, had killed Malik Muzaffar, an ally of Shékh Mu'iz-ud-dín, and had made prisoners of the latter officer and

* According to Firishtah (Briggs, vol. ii. pp. 287, 288) the action was severely contested and for some time doubtful. He calls the leader "Násir-ud-dín Sháh," "Ismá'il Khán Affghán," and says that he was the *brother* of Malik Mugh, Governor of Málwáh, and that he was selected as leader of the insurgents in the hope that his brother would not oppose him. This hope appears to have been delusive, for Malik Mugh is mentioned as joining the Sultán. Perhaps this leader's name may have been Malik Moghis, as the brother-in-law (or brother) of Diláwar Ghorí, the first King of Málwáh, had a son of that name, who may have been called after his grandfather, and who, again, was the father of Mahmúd I. of Málwáh. Firishtah says that Diláwar Khán's grandfather came from Affghanistan (Ghór), and that he and his son were ennobled and employed under the Dehlí Court. Hasan Gángú is here first mentioned. Notice of him will be found further on.

of several other officials. (Subsequently) this rebel Taghi, with several others, attacked Kambháiat, and gave it up to plunder, and had thence, with a force both Hindú and Musulmán, arrived under the walls of Bharúj. When he was harassing the fort, fighting was going on daily between him and the garrison. Sultán Muhamad, on receiving intelligence of this rising, left Kiwám-ud-dín, Malik Jiwáhír, Shékh Burhán Balarámi, and Zafar-ul-Jiwárh, with part of his forces, at Déógír,* and himself proceeded with all speed to Bharúj, leaving the settlement of Déógír incomplete and half finished. All the Musulmáns of Déógír who were left, great and small, accompanied the Sultán's army to Bharúj. . . . When Sultán Muhamad, moving by regular marches, had reached Bharúj, he encamped with his army on the bank of the river Narbadáh, which flows beneath Bharúj. Taghi, when he heard of the approach of the Sultán's head-quarters, abandoned Bharúj, and of all the insurgent forces who had collected round him not more than three hundred were mounted.† Sultán Muhamad also detached from the banks of the Narbadáh‡ Malik Yusaf Baghra, with about two thousand horse, to Kambháiat. In four or five days he reached that place, and was opposed by Taghi God so willed that Malik Yusaf and others were slain by the insurgents, and his force, being routed, retired on Bharúj. When the news of Malik Yusaf's death, and of the rout of his party, reached the Sultán, he had already crossed the river, and had been two or three days in Bharúj. He at once pushed forward to Kambháiat with all speed. Taghi, when he understood that the Sultán was about to arrive at Kambháiat, fled thence, and went to Asáwal.§ But before the

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* Firishtah makes it appear as if the fort of Déógír was not in the Sultán's possession; but the expression of the text rather infers the contrary, and that he left a garrison in it.

† This expression is rather doubtful. It is probable that he was accompanied only by 300 horse.

‡ "Narbadáh"; the text spells it thus.

§ Asáwal was close to the present city of Ahmadábád.

Sultán left Bharúj, the rebel Taghi had put to death Shékh Mu'iz-ud-dín and the other officials whom he had captured. . . . When the Sultán reached Asáwal he halted there about a month, more or less, on account of the bad condition of his horses and the continued heavy rain. After some time, while it was still raining continuously, news came from Nahrwálah that Taghi, with a party of horse, had left Nahrwálah and marched towards Asáwal, and had halted at the town of Karrah.* The Sultán, when he heard of Taghi's advance, though it was the very height of the rains, at once marched out of Asáwal, and on the third or fourth day arrived at the town of Karrah bití,* where Taghi was, and on the second day moved against him in order of battle. When the rebels saw the Sultán's army advancing, they drank wine and intoxicated themselves. A party of the *sadah* men who were among them, taking their lives on their sleeves and their naked swords in their hands, charged the Sultán's personal troops, after the manner of a "forlorn hope"†; but the elephants of the guard were driven to meet them, and these unlucky drunkards, being unable to withstand the elephants, were driven before the Sultán's guard among some mangoe-trees, routed, and fled to Nahrwálah. Several rebels and all their baggage fell into the hands of the Sultán's troops; altogether about four or five hundred, more or less, were captured, with the baggage, by the army of Islám, and all were put to the sword. . . . Taghi, with some of the fugitive horse, reached Nahrwálah, and, bringing out from thence the families and followers of the rebels, went to Káut Baráhí. He remained there a short time; afterwards, having written to the Ráo of Girnár for protection, he went there; and thence went on to Tathah and Damrílah, and they gave him refuge there. The Sultán, after two or three days, reached Nahrwálah, and encamped within the enclosure of the Sahásí-

* "Karrah" in one passage, and "Karrah bití" (کرّہ بتی) in another.

† بر طریق فدأیان براوان *bar tarík i fidá,ián baráwán.*

ling tank.* There he employed himself in settling the affairs of Gujarát. The chiefs, Ránahs, and Mohants† of Gujarát came in and did homage, and paid tribute, and received robes of honour and presents. In a very short time the inhabitants returned to their homes, and were relieved from disorder and disunion, and the poor from oppression and plunder. A few leading rebels, who had deserted Taghi, went to the Ránah of Mandal and Tírí, and threw themselves on his protection; but the Ránah slew them, and sent their heads to Court, and he also seized their families. Robes of honour, assignments of land, and minor rewards were bestowed on him; the Ránah, thus reassured, came to Court. The Sultán, who, during the settlement of Gujarát affairs, had been residing at the enclosure of the Sahásí-ling, had arranged to make a (public) entry into Nahrwálah, when news arrived from Déógír that Hasan Gángú‡ and other rebels who had been previously defeated, and who fled before the forces of the Sultán, had now attacked 'Imád-ul-Mulk, that the latter was slain, and his army dispersed;

* The Sahasra ling tank, built by Sidh ráj. See note at page 35.

† *Mohants*, head priests of Hindú shrines and heads of religious communities.

‡ This brief notice records the foundation of the celebrated Gángú or Bahmani dynasty of Ahsanábád, or Gulbargah in the Dakkhan. The Pretender, Ismá'il Khán, or Násir-ud-dín Affghán, appears voluntarily to have abdicated his leadership in favour of Hasan Gángú, who had shown himself a more successful commander, and was apparently a younger and more active man. Possibly, also, the hope that Ismá'il Khán's brother, the Governor of Málwáh, would have aided the insurrection having proved delusive, Ismá'il Khán was aware that his main recommendation as a leader was at an end. As to Hasan Gángú, it is enough to say here that he was a self-made man, who from a common agricultural labourer raised himself to a position of some importance at the Dehlí Court, whence he was brought into Western India by Katlagh Khán, and seems to have been one of those whom the removal of that officer from his position had rendered discontented. According to Firishtah (Briggs, vol. i. pp. 288–91) the royal troops were first driven from Déógír, and then Hasan Gángú [who had received from Násir-ud-dín the title of Zafar Khán] attacked and overthrew 'Imád-ul-Mulk near Bidar. It was *after* this event, and according to Firishtah on the 24th Rabí'-ul-akhir, 748 A.H. [August 12, 1347 A.D.], that Zafar Khán assumed the regal power. After this the Dakkhan was permanently lost to the Pathán empire of Dehlí, and the central power of the latter was also seriously shaken in Málwáh, though more or less authority was still retained there, and even more fully maintained in Gujarát, till the Toghlak dynasty fairly fell to pieces after Tímúr's invasion.

while Kiwám-ud-dín, Malik Jiwáhír, and Zafar-ul-Jíwárh, had retired from Déógír, and fallen back upon Dhár; that Hasan Gángú had entered Déógír and assumed the royal umbrella, and the insurgents who, out of fear of the Sultán's forces, had shut themselves up in Dharágír, had issued from thence, and that a very serious rebellion was set on foot in (the province of) Déógír. The Sultán, on hearing this intelligence, became very disheartened,* for he now fully recognised that the people were thoroughly alienated, and that there was no opportunity of amendment; that the affairs of the kingdom were completely unsettled, and that the fall of his rule was not far off. During the few months the Sultán remained at Nahrwálah, no one was sent to execution. He sent for Ahmad Aiáz, Malik Bahrám, the Ghaznevide, Amír Kabalah, and Malik Mahán, from Dehlí, together with troops, and they arrived thence, with their men in thorough order, at Court; but soon after, news arrived that Hasan Gángú had assembled a very numerous force at Déógír, and the Sultán did not deem it advisable to despatch them thither, but abandoned his designs against Déógír. He announced that he would first clear Gujarát, capture Gírnár, drive the rebel Taghi thence, and would then advance against Déógír, for that trouble and anxiety would not be fully removed from his heart until he had expelled the insurgents from Déógír.

In pursuance of this plan he took in hand the campaign against Girnár and the fort of Khéngár.† The Déógír chiefs who had come to the Sultán, now seeing that all action as

* Ziá Baraní and other writers point out repeatedly how distasteful to his own best advisers was the policy of cruel and persistent severity which the Sultán avowedly pursued, and the use of which he openly defended against those who urged a more lenient course of action. The crisis now reported was unquestionably produced by this conduct, which seems from all its details to be hardly capable of any explanation, except the supposition that the Sultán was sometimes driven by a violent temper beyond the verge of insanity. Nor was he convinced of his error until it was thus palpably brought home to him by the loss of Déógír, which, in the early part of his reign, he had endeavoured to make the capital of his empire.

† "Khéngár," the name of a chief of whom more will be said presently.

regarding that place was deferred, went out by one or two at a time to an appointed rendezvous, and thence returned to Déógír. . . . From the time that the Sultán withdrew from the affairs of Déógír, and devoted himself to the management of Gujarát, he passed three rainy seasons in Gujarát.* The first, the Sultán remained at Mandal and Tírí, and busied himself in settling the country and equipping his army; the second rainy season he passed in the neighbourhood of the fort of Girnár. The chief of that place, when he saw the numbers and equipments of the Sultán's overpowering forces, resolved to make Taghi a prisoner and to deliver him up. Taghi, being informed of this design, fled thence, went to Tathah, and sheltered himself with the Jána. After the close of the rains the Sultán took Girnár,† and also brought into subjection the neighbouring coast-line and islands. The (local) Ránahs and chiefs attended his court, made their submission, were accepted as allies, and received robes of honour and presents. A governor,‡ on behalf of the Sultán, held Girnár; and Khéngár,§ the

* This statement fits into Firishtah's chronology. According to that writer, Hasan Gángú ascended the throne at Déógír in August 748 A.H., and the news would reach the Sultán at Nahrwálah about the close of the rainy season of that year. Thus the Sultán would pass the rainy seasons of 749, 750, 751 A.H. in Gujarát. He died in the very beginning of 752 A.H.

† There has been much discussion as to whether Muhamad Toghlak actually took Girnár. Firishtah expresses a doubt, and the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" says he did *not*, but draws a distinction between Júnahgarh, the fort commanding the pass, and Girnár, the hill citadel. The "Táríkh-i-Sórath" says that Muhamad took the former, but *not* the latter. This is probably the fact. Even so, however, the capture was not improbably the result of a capitulation. See following note.

‡ The word in the Bibliotheca text is ﻣﻬﺘﻪ, apparently the Hindí महता *mahtá*, or "headman." The expression perhaps indicates that the person appointed was a Hindú, possibly one of the minor local magnates, which would quite consort with the view that the place surrendered on a capitulation.

§ Khéngár. The text above speaks of the "fort of Khéngár" as distinct from Girnár; the allusion may be to Júnahgarh. He was probably the Mandalík Ráo of Girnár. The "Táríkh-i-Sórath" gives a Rájah of the name of Khéngár as ruling when Júnahgarh was captured, though this work is evidently astray in attributing the capture to Fíróz Sháh, and also in the chronology it adopts. It says the Rájah fled to Girnár, which was *not* taken. Probably Khéngár came to terms with Muhamad Toghlak's general, and returned with him to visit the Sultán. The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" makes Khéngár the ruler of Kachh, and distinct from the ruler of Girnár, but this is probably an error, though he may also have ruled Kachh, or part of it.

ruler of Girnár, was seized and brought a prisoner to Court. That part of the country was thoroughly reduced into subjection. The third rainy season Sultán Muhamad spent at Góndal. This Góndal is a village on the road to Tathah* of the Súmrahs, and to Damrílah. In Góndal the King was taken ill and suffered from fever; he was detained there by the disease for some time. Before he reached Góndal the Sultán heard from Dehlí of the death of Malik Kabír, and was greatly afflicted at the intelligence. He sent Ahmad Aiáz† and Malik Makbúl,‡ the *náib wazír*, to Dehlí to administer the government at the capital. The Sultán also sent to Dehlí for Khudáwand Zádah and Makhdúm Zádah, and for many shékhs, 'ulemá, great men and leading people, and for the wives of the courtiers, nobles, and soldiers. Those who were summoned came with all speed, bringing with them large followings both of horse and foot, so that a very large force was assembled round the Sultán, and his army was in complete readiness. Boats§ arrived from Dipálpúr, Multán, Uchh, and Síwastán. The Sultán recovered from his illness and marched with all his army to the banks of the Indus, and crossed his troops at leisure and without molestation. Altún Bahádar, with four or five thousand Moghal horse sent by the Amír of Farghánah, joined the Sultán, who lavished his attentions on Altún Bahádar and his troops, and gave them many presents, and, with a force in numbers like ants or locusts, marched by the banks of the Indus towards Tathah, advancing

* The capital of the Súmrah dynasty. *Cf.* "Mahomedan Historians of India," vol. i. p. 488.

† Ahmad Aiáz was one of the three administrators, or vicegerents, whom the Sultán had originally left at Dehlí. Of the other two, Malik Kabír was now dead, and Fíróz Sháh had been evidently summoned thence, now or previously, for he was present with the army when the Sultán died.

‡ Malik Makbúl is the person of that name, the converted Hindú, who was in high office at Dehlí when the King died, but who eventually joined Fíróz Sháh's party. ("Mahomedan Historians of India," vol. iii. pp. 367, 368). See note at p. 47.

§ "Boats." The original word is بحرها *bahrahá*, or "fleets." They were probably the large boats such as are still in use on the Indus, many of which are of considerable burden.

by regular marches, for the subversion and subjection of the Súmrahs and of the rebel Taghi whom they had sheltered. While marching with his countless forces, and when he had gone thirty *kós* towards Tathah, the *ashúrá** occurred. The Sultán fasted, and subsequently ate some fish, which disagreed with him; his disorder returned, and the fever again attacked him. As he was sick he was placed in a boat, and continued his journey the second and third days of the *ashúrá*, and halted within fourteen *kós* of Tathah. His army was all prepared and only awaited his order to trample under foot Tathah, the Súmrahs of Tathah, and the rebel Taghi, to overthrow and utterly destroy them; but fate ruled it otherwise. During the two or three days the Sultán was encamped near Tathah, his malady grew worse. . . . On the 21st Mohurrum 752 A.H., Sultán Muhamad bin Toghlak quitted this mortal life for an eternal one. Sultán Fíróz ascended the throne of Dehlí in 752 A.H. (1351 A.D.). After he had captured the fort of Nagarkót (Kangra), he visited Gujarát and dismissed Nizám-ud-dín.† [The visit of Sultán Fíróz to Gujarát arising out of his expedition to Tathah.‡] He marched against Tathah to avenge Sultán Muhamad's failure, and went by Ajodhan and Bhakkar. Although he was successful in an engagement with the enemy, want of provisions and inclemency of weather brought on disorganization of his army, and he was obliged to retreat. He set out for Gujarát with the intention of refitting his army in that country. He escaped with great difficulty through the Ran of Kachh, and at Dehlí it was believed for some time that he and his army were lost. He at length reached Gujarát "and expended the whole revenue of the country, amounting to about two *krórs*, in refitting his army and in the payment of his troops." He then returned to

* *Ashúrá*, fast of the first ten days of Mohurrum. *Cf.* Muir's (abridged) "Life of Mahomet," pp. 200, 201; also "Qanoon-i-Islám," pp. 148, 149, 172.

† Ziá Baraní says that Fíróz Sháh considered that Nizám-ud-dín had been remiss in sending aid to his troops in the Tathah campaign.

‡ "Mahomedan Historians of India," vol. iii. p. 253; Firishtah, vol. i. p. 434.

Tathah, leaving Zafar Khan as *Názim* in Gujarát. Zafar Khán died there in 773 H. (1371 A.D.). His eldest son (Dariá Khán) received his father's title, and was raised to his office. Shams-ud-dín Damaghání then offered the Sultán an advance of forty *lakhs* of *tankahs* on the revenues of Gujarát, a hundred elephants, two hundred Arab horses, and four hundred slaves every year. The Sultán proposed to leave Shams-ud-dín Anwar Khán, the deputy of Zafar Khán, in possession on these terms, but as he would not accept them Shams-ud-dín Damaghání was appointed. He was unable to fulfil his engagement and turned rebel, when an army was sent against him and he was killed.* Gujarát was then placed in charge of Malik Mufarrah Sultání, who afterwards obtained the title of Farhat-ul-Mulk Rástí Khán.

Eventually Sultán Fíróz Sháh died in the year 790 A.H.; his reign lasted thirty-eight years and nine months. After his death the nobles placed Ghiás-ud-dín, the son of Fatteh Khán, the son of Fíróz Sháh, upon the throne. In the recklessness of youth he gave himself up to pleasure, sensuality, and folly, and acted oppressively towards certain of his followers. In the year 791 Rukn-ud-dín Náib (*wazír ?*) put him to death, and hung up his head in *darbár*. He reigned six months and seventeen days. After the murder of Ghiás-ud-dín, a son of Fíróz Sháh, who was named Abú Bakr, was brought out and set on the throne; but he was taken prisoner and confined by another son of Fíróz Sháh, Muhamad Toghlak. Abú Bakr reigned one year and six months. After this, in the reign of Muhamad Sháh Toghlak II., the people of Gujarát and Kambháiat complained of the tyranny of Rástí Khán; and Muhamad Sháh appointed Zafar Khán, son of Wajíh-ul-Mulk, to succeed him on the 2nd Rabí'-ul-awal, 793 H. (the 21st of February 1391 A.D.). The King died of an illness which seized him on the 7th Rabí'-ul-awal, 796 A.H., having reigned six years and seven months.

* Shams-i-Siráj, in "Mahomedan Historians of India," vol. iii. p. 324, and Firishtah, vol. i. p. 455.

MIRÁT-I-SIKANDARÍ.

THIS work is so called from the name of the author, Sikandar bin Muhamad, and was composed shortly after the close of the dynasty of whose history it treats, that is to say, in the year 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.).

The author describes himself as born in the year 961 A.H. (1553 A.D.), at Mahmúdábád. He was consequently a little short of sixty when his history was completed. He writes that he was born in the year in which Sultán Mahmúd III. was murdered at Mahmúdábád. His father, whom he describes as "Mahmúd, otherwise Mánjhú," and whom he usually mentions under the latter name, first appears as librarian to the Emperor Humaúm, in which capacity he accompanied the Imperial camp when the Emperor marched against Bahádar Sháh of Gujarát in 941 A.H. (A.D. 1534). It is not clear of what part of the country "Mánjhú" was a native; but his son states that on the rout of Bahádar Sháh's army Mánjhú saved the life of the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí," who was with the Gujarát army, by concealing him in his camp, and says that he did this on account of a previous friendship with the latter.

Now the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" was certainly a nobleman hereditarily connected with the Court of Gujarát, and the fact of this friendship with him, and the evident affection with which the present writer speaks of the

Gujarát dynasty may perhaps make it probable that the writer's family originally belonged to Gujarát. At any rate, after the expulsion of the Moghals by Bahádar Sháh, Mánjhú remained in Gujarát, and attached himself to the service of one of the Sáíds of Bukhárá, a family which had, from the first establishment of the Gujarátí (Tánk) dynasty, played a leading part among the nobles of its Court, and continued to do so until its fall.*

After the violent death of Sáíd Mubárah, the first patron of his father and himself during the anarchy which preceded the accession of Sultán Ahmad II., the writer appears to have attached himself to Sáíd Mirán, Mubárah's son, and with him to have been reconciled to the party of I'timád Khán, who aspired to rule in the name of the puppet king, Muzaffar III. Sáíd Mirán submitted to Akbar, apparently, shortly after I'timád Khán surrendered. His son, Sáíd Hamíd, rose to great honour under the Empire, was employed in many distant provinces, and eventually was killed during an *emeute* at Kábul. The writer, Sikandar, however, does not seem to have accompanied Sáíd Hamíd, but appears to have remained in Gujarát, and to have continued in official employment under the Emperor's deputies.

This connection with the Bukhárí Sáíds probably accounts for the prominence which the writer gives in his chronicle to the acts of the holy men of the family, on which the writer dwells with great apparent interest. But in addition to this it would appear that the writer was a "dervésh," or at least a disciple of "dervéshes," a term comprising the various schools of Mahomedan mystics who claimed certain supernatural powers, and his history is full of references to their miraculous acts, and to the influence which they—especially those of the

* Sáíd Mubárah, the immediate patron of the writer and his father, does not seem to have belonged to the particular branch of the Bukhárí Sáíds who were first settled in Gujarát, but to have been an adventurer, of the family who came from the original stock in Bukhárá, and emigrated thence to seek his fortunes in Gujarát. See Blochmann, "Ain-i-Akbar," vol. i. p. 387.

Bukhárí Sáíd family—exercised on the fortunes of the Gujarát dynasty: indeed, it may be said that one of the main apparent objects of the work is to glorify them, and it is full of allusions to their peculiar tenets and pretensions. Setting aside this, however, it may be said that the work is otherwise written in a very impartial spirit; indeed, the writer says that the main reason of his undertaking the work was that all the previously existing histories were more or less tinged with partiality. He enumerates most of these, and says that the "Táríkh-i-Muzaffar Sháhí" (a history of Muzaffar Sháh I.), the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí" (a history of Ahmad Sháh I.), and the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" (the history of Bahádar Sháh), were all composed during the reigns of the kings of whom they respectively treat; while the history of Mahmúd Sháh Bigarha was composed during the reign of that ruler's immediate descendants. "It is palpable," he says, "that they all treat of events in a spirit of partiality towards the kings of whom they speak, and are not worthy, therefore, of implicit reliance."

It may be fairly said that Sikandar is entitled to the praise of being, at least from his own point of view of a Mahomedan historian, not only an impartial, but a very skilful writer. He endeavours to show how the individual disposition of each Sultán affected the prosperity of the kingdom, and, moreover, to illustrate each monarch's character by anecdotes and well-chosen remarks. Thus, Muzaffar Sháh I. is shown as a good soldier and a fair specimen of the administering Mahomedan nobleman of his day, loyal and brave without any far-reaching ambition, and becoming practically independent by sheer force of circumstances long before he assumed the titles of sovereignty. His character is brought out by contrast with that of his ambitious and restless son, Tátár Khán

His grandson, Ahmad Sháh, is shown not only as the virtual founder of the capital, but also of the kingdom of Gujarát, which he ruled firmly and well, although his life is said to have been always embittered by remorse for the one great

crime of his early life. A brave and successful soldier, he enlarged and secured the frontiers of his kingdom, which, as Elphinstone points out, was received by his grandfather as little more than a chain of military positions in the heart of a hostile Hindú country; but beyond this he seems to have devised and enforced an admirable system both of civil and military administration, which no doubt became the means of his more immediate success, and the maintenance of which enabled his descendants to raise higher and higher the prosperity of the kingdom, till it culminated during the glorious reign of Mahmúd Sháh Bigarha.

This latter king was evidently the writer's favourite hero, as he is to this day in Western India the most famous of all the local kings. The glory of his name lives, indeed, enshrined in native tradition throughout the whole of India, as a model sovereign and pious Musulmán.

The present narrative, no doubt, exhibits him in a very favourable light; but he probably deserved all the praise bestowed on him. The failures of his generals, which were few, are lightly touched upon. The skill and energy which he showed in his own military operations are fully brought out, and the anecdotes show him as an excellent administrator, strict and just, but merciful and liberal; a wise judge of character, with a strong will enforced with tact, patience, and prudence, as well as determination. His piety and attachment to holy men, and particularly to the Bukhárí Sáids, regarding which several marvellous stories are told, were no doubt strong recommendations in the eyes of the historian.

The writer's skill is particularly shown in dealing with perhaps the most questionable act of Mahmúd's life, the execution of his son, whom he had in the first instance selected as his successor. This youth proved a shameless debauchee, probably also a coward; at any rate, he was openly and grievously disgraced, and his father, therefore, ordered him to be taken off by poison. The incident itself is barely mentioned, and no

direct remark is made regarding it; but the writer, by insisting on the great anxiety shown by the Sultán as to the choice of his successor, and his hesitation even as to the competency of the son (Muzaffar) whom he ultimately made his heir, gives it to be understood that, when he discovered that the young man he had publicly made his heir was worthless and incapable of reigning, he considered the danger to his people to be so great that it could only be met by bringing his son's life to an end.

So also it is clearly shown, by contrasted anecdotes, what manner of men Muzaffar II. (the Clement) and Bahádar Sháh really were. The former pious, learned, liberal, and gentle, was yet fatally weak, and incapable of controlling his subordinates; and though personally unselfish and amiable, it was with difficulty he could bring himself to act with sufficient sternness and energy, even when these qualities were most needed, so that his subjects were sadly exposed to oppression, and the unchecked influence of the nobles grew into a power which eventually destroyed the dynasty and the kingdom with it.

Bahádar Sháh, on the other hand, though he has been rendered famous by singular activity in war and some brilliant military successes, is shown to have been curiously undeserving of renown. Uneducated, rash, and impetuous, a poor administrator, more from sloth and sensuality than from weakness or want of ability; violent, cruel, treacherous, and ungrateful, his unfortunate death at the hands of the Portuguese seems to have won for him a sympathy which he very little merited.

It has been said that the author writes entirely from a Mahomedan point of view. This is so undoubtedly; and the severity of the earlier kings in destroying idolatry and forcibly converting Hindús, acts which rendered the lives of a large proportion of his subjects miserable, are described as worthy of all praise, though some evidence survives of the destitution

which this oppression produced. Nor is much said of the social history of the era, though occasional paragraphs describe the material welfare of the populace under the good government of some of the kings, and the zeal which some of these displayed in providing for the due teaching of Mahomedan doctrines, and some of the tales also afford slight glimpses of the manner in which the people lived.

Of these numerous anecdotes scattered throughout the book a very few only have, for various reasons, been omitted, though some of the others which are narrated at tedious length in the original have been slightly condensed in the translation.

It is difficult to say what was the style of the author, for the varying texts employ very various language. Six texts have been used in the translation; of these, by far the most clearly written is one from the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, to which it was presented by the late Sir A. Malet, and which has been described at length in Mr. Morley's catalogue of the Persian historical MSS. belonging to that Society. It is quoted hereafter as MS. A. Its language is full of stilted tautology, such as distinguishes certain styles of Persian composition. On the whole, however, I am disposed to think it approaches most nearly to the author's own words, for in some passages the language of the other copies is so condensed that its true meaning is only to be elucidated by reference to MS. A. The language of the other MSS. is simpler, and has been generally followed as best suited for translation into English. There are some serious *lacunæ* in MS. A, though it affords generally a full text, and is especially valuable for the plainness of its writing when readings are doubtful. Of the other MSS., the best is one which was liberally transmitted by the late Sir Sálár Jang from Hyderábád, where he had it copied specially for the purpose of this work. It is fairly well written by different hands, and gives, on the whole, a fuller text than any of the others, especially as regards the anecdotes recounted. It

supplies some obvious deficiencies in MS. A, though itself still occasionally imperfect. In one or two cases this MS. gives matter which, perhaps, did not belong to the original work, and which may have been borrowed from some other source. These passages will be further noticed in their proper place. This MS. will be quoted as MS. B, or the "Hyderábád MS." The other MSS. belong to the Library of the India Office, and will, doubtless, be fully described in the forthcoming catalogue of the Persian MSS. of that Institution. They are, for the most part, more condensed, both in style and substance, than the other two, though some of them occasionally contain particulars which these omit, and they afford also considerable assistance in reading doubtful names. They will be quoted, No. 404 as MS. C, No. 970 as MS. D, and No. 1,038 as MS. E. The lithographed edition published at Bombay has also been employed with much advantage, and where quoted has been indicated as L, or the "Lithographed Edition." As a rule the translation mainly follows this last, the Hyderábád MS., and MS. D, which are nearly identical in their wording.

The writer gives a distinct account of the mode in which he prepared his work. He relied on authorities, as far as he could get them, and undoubtedly made use of the two works, both entitled Táríkh-i-Muzaffar Sháhí, dealing respectively with the history of Muzaffar Sháh I. and Muzaffar Sháh II., the Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí, the Táríkh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí, the Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí, with the Tuhfat-i-Sándál of Arám Kashmírí, a work composed apparently during the earlier part of Mahmúd III.'s reign. Some of the *lacunæ* in his narrative are probably due to the deficiencies in these authorities, especially those at the close of the reigns of Ahmad Shah I. and of Mahmúd Bigarha. The writer says that his narrative, after the final re-establishment of Mahmúd III. on the throne, is derived from family recollections and from information derived from others. But he also speaks as an eye-witness of several of the later events which he relates, for he

expressly says that he was present in several of the engagements which took place after the escape and revolt of Muzaffar III.

One very curious characteristic of this writer's style is that he often gives one version of a story—evidently derived from the authority which he is for the moment following—and supplements it by one or more different and sometimes incompatible versions derived from other sources. Indeed, he seems to have followed his main authorities very closely, and to have depended much on them. As said above, the Táríkh-i-Ahmadí and Táríkh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí do not seem to have been continued down to the deaths of the monarchs whose story they relate, and the account of their later years given by our author is, therefore, but meagre and imperfect. It has been endeavoured partially to remedy this by facts drawn from other works, and it is hoped, in the next volume, to add a few valuable particulars as to the last years of Mahmúd Bigarha, from a history supplemental to the Táríkh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí, also furnished by the kindness of the late Sir Salar Jung.

CHAPTER III.

RISE OF THE MUHAMMADAN POWER.—REIGN OF SULTÁN MUZAFFAR.

THE first among the rulers of Gujarát who obtained the honour of Islám was Sadháran, to whom the name Wajíh-ul-Mulk was given. He belonged to the caste called Tánk. It is stated in Hindu books that the Tánks and Khatrís are brothers. One of them was addicted to the use of strong drinks, and the Khatrís expelled him from their caste. Men so expelled are, in Hindí, called Tánkí,* which means outcasts. From that time forward the customs and rules of the Khatrís and Tánkís have differed, and each of them pursues the course it prefers.

The name of the father of Sadháran was Har Chand, who was the son of Bír Pál, son of Gúr Pál, son of Har Pál, son of Man Pál, son of Dhínda, son of Bíl Pál, son of Kunwar Pál, son of Darímaṉ, son of Kunwarí, son of Trilók, son of Súláhan,

* See Elliot's "Memoirs of Races, &c.," vol. i. p. 109; Tod's "Rájasthán," vol. i.; Cunningham's "Archæological Reports," vol. ii. p. 8. It seems probable that the Hindí equivalent meant is some form of the Sanskrit *Tyágí*, "abandoned"; indeed, the copy of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" used by Sir H. Elliot seems to have given the word in this shape, but that copy is not to be found among his MSS., and is not, therefore, available for reference. The lithographed version and four out of the five MSS. used for this translation (the fifth is defective at this passage) give تانکے. As to the probability of the explanation in the text, see note on "Badar 'Alá," *infra*.

son of Júláhan, son of Mandan, son of Abhí Mandan, son of Bhúkat, son of Nákat, son of Abhí, son of Trilók, son of Dúlah, son of Mahsú, son of Sahsú.* But the line extends upwards to Ráma Chandra, whom the Hindus worship as a god.

The first of the race who was established in the government of Gujarát was Zafar Khán, son of Wajíh-ul-Mulk, and the first who ascended the throne was Sultán Muhamad, surnamed Tátár Khán, son of Zafar Khán.

It is recorded that the great and beneficent Sultán Ab'ul Muzaffar Fíróz Sháh, cousin of Sultán Muhamad bin Toghlak Sháh, sovereign of the realm of Dehlí, was very fond of hunting. No one of ancient or modern kings has been so devoted to sport since the days of Bahrám Gúr, no one has pursued the beasts in the forest with equal ardour; and even at the present time, hunters when they enter on the chase invoke the memory of this glorious king, and seek aid from his beatified holy spirit.†

One day, before Fíróz attained the throne, he went out into the country to hunt deer, and, as he pressed on in pursuit of his game, became separated from his attendants. When the shades of evening began to fall, and the silvery deer (the moon) displayed its brightness in the field of the sky, the bird of his heart sought for a nest; and he perceived in the distance a village which was one of the dependencies of the town of Thánésar. He turned his horse in that direction. Outside the village he found a party of the landholders seated, and he got off his horse and joined them. At his request one of them pulled off his boots. That man was a master of the science of interpreting signs and appearances; when his eye fell upon the sole of the foot of the Sultán, he perceived the marks of royalty and the signs of imperial power. He told his companions that such marks were only found upon the feet of

* These names vary in the different MSS., but are not material.
† This passage is somewhat obscure and difficult to render literally.

kings—that the person before them either bore the crown of sovereignty, or else heaven designed soon to raise him to that dignity.

The chief men of the place were two brothers. The name of one was Sádhú, of the other Sadháran. Both of them were well known for their accumulations of goods and wealth; and they could summon by one sign thousands of horse and foot around them. Both of them did homage to their guest, and begged him to do them the honour of passing the night there. The Sultán assented. All the evening the two brothers remained in attendance, and waited upon him. The wife of Sádhú was a clever woman, and specially endowed with a quickness of apprehension and an ingenious intellect. She observed to her husband that although their guest bore upon his forehead the marks of greatness and dignity, still reliance should not be placed upon any man until his character has been tested. She advised him to engage their guest in a drinking bout, when the conversation might be free and unrestrained. So the sister of Sádhú, who was peerless in beauty and loveliness, was brought forward, and, filling a goblet, presented it to the Sultán, requesting him to partake of it. The Sultán, with great pleasure, received the cup from her hand and took a draught. When he had drunk the three cups* the rosebud of his disposition unfolded. He showed a disposition to jest with the girl, and appeared attracted by her charms.

The wife of Sádhú saw that the Sultán was captivated. She approached him respectfully, and, engaging him in conversation, she talked very discreetly and pleasantly on various subjects till she brought the conversation round to the genealogy and family of the Sultán; saying that if he could satisfy her as to his family, she would give him to wife that girl who

* This expression refers to an Oriental custom of drinking three cups of wine or strong liquor on an empty stomach, before a meal, under the belief that this practice assists the digestion. It would doubtless assist the "rosebud of the disposition to unfold," as in the case here described.

was more lovely than a *húrí* of light. The Sultán told her that he was called Fíróz Khán, and that he was son to the uncle of the high and mighty Sultán Muhamad bin Toghlak Sháh, who had designated him as his heir apparent. The wife told her husband what she had learnt, and said that fortune had indeed smiled upon them, for if he gave his sister to their guest, great prosperity and honour would accrue to them. Sádhú straightway gave his sister in marriage (*nikáh*) to the Sultán, and the night passed in pleasure and delight.

When the concealing curtain of the night was raised and that silken-robed bridegroom, the sun, came forth from his chamber of rest, the Sultán with a happy heart raised his head from the pillow of delight. His followers collected around him from all sides, and he set out for the city. The two brothers Sádhú and Sadháran attended him like two shadows, and were so attentive to their duties that they never left him for a moment. The Sultán was very fond of their sister, and both brothers shortly became Musulmáns. Sadháran received from the Sultán the title of Wajíh-ul-Mulk. Afterwards, with the permission of the Sultán, they became disciples of Kutb-ul-aktáb Hazrat Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán,* and were noted for their devotion. The Sultán himself was a disciple of the same saint, and became favourably disposed towards them on account of their piety, and his esteem for them increased day by day.

One day a number of poor people had assembled at the refectory of this holy man, and there was no food. This fact was made known to Zafar Khán, the son of Wajíh-ul-Mulk, who also was one of the saint's disciples. He instantly arose, collected a great quantity of the best food and sweetmeats from

* "The pole-star of pole-stars, His Highness the revered of men." He was by descent a Saíd of Bukhárá. It is, as seen in the preface, one of the main objects of this history to show the connection of the saints of this family with the kings of the Gujarát dynasty which then commenced down to the close of the last monarch's reign. According to the "Muntakhab-ul-Lubáb," Makhdúm-i-Jaháníán came from U'chh, in the Punjáb, originally.

his own house and from the bázár, and going to the refectory of the revered saint, he fed the poor, who raised a loud cheer. The noise reached the saint, and he inquired what it meant. His attendants told him, and he sent for Zafar Khán. The Khán waited respectfully on the saint, who addressed him thus: "Zafar Khán, in recompense of this food I bestow upon thee the whole country of Gujarát; my blessing rest upon you." At the same time he gave him a fine coverlet for his couch.* Zafar Khán returned thanks and went back to his house. He told his family what had passed, and his wife said: "You are well stricken in years,† and if the country of Gujarát falls to thee, what life wilt thou have left to enjoy it? Go back and beseech the saint that the succession to the kingdom may come to thy children. The holy saint is now graciously inclined to thee, and whatsoever thou shalt ask he will grant." Zafar Khán took perfumes, fruits, and other offerings, and returned to the holy man, who graciously accepted them. There was a plate of dates before him. He took a handful of them and gave them to Zafar Khán, and said, "Thy seed like unto these in number shall rule over Gujarát." Some say there were twelve, some thirteen dates, others say eleven; God knows which story is true.‡

Historians have recorded that in the year H. 749§ Sultán Muhamad Toghlak Sháh died as he was marching upon Tathah, and just when he had arrived close to that city. Twelve days

* *Palang-posh.*

† He was born at Dehlí in A.H. 743, so that he was now about fifty years of age.

‡ This sentence is explained by the doubt as to the legitimate descent of the two last kings of the dynasty: excluding Zafar Khán himself (Muzaffar Sháh I.) and Muhamad Khán Farúkí, who did not represent the male line of the family, there were thirteen kings; if Ahmad Sháh II. and Muzaffar III. (Hasbu) are omitted, only eleven. It may be remarked that of the whole thirteen, seven certainly died violent deaths, while of the remaining six, one probably died by poison, another escaped assassination by prompt abdication, another was dethroned (both these dying suspiciously soon after they retired into private life), while the death of another was popularly, though probably incorrectly, ascribed to poison.

§ The year 752 (A.D. 1351) is the real year.

after his death, Fíróz Khán, son of the Sultán's uncle, succeeded to the throne, under the name of Fíróz Sháh. Zafar Khán and his brother Shams Khán were advanced to high honour. Through the confidence the King reposed in them he entrusted to them the duties of chief butler.* Hence the founders of this dynasty have been described as spirit-dealers (*kalálán*), but this is wholly an error. The way in which this word (*kalál*) came to be applied to them was this. One year a great quantity of grapes came to the King; they were spoiling, and these men (the founders of the dynasty) were ordered to make spirits from them. Envious people ill-naturedly nick-named them *kaláls*, and said they were spirit-dealers by occupation. In reality they belonged to the caste of Tánks, as has been before mentioned. Whatever they were, they were men of high and noble spirit, whose charities and deeds of kindness to the people of God were beyond number. Please God, some of these shall be mentioned in their proper places.

When Sultán Fíróz Sháh was verging upon ninety years of age, he delivered over the affairs of state to his son Muhamad Khán, and gave himself up to devotional exercises. The *khutbah* was read in the names of both. In the year A.H. 790 (A.D. 1388), the *bandagán-i-Fírózí*,† who were a *lakh* in number, by their vain tales and false misrepresentations, alienated Fíróz Sháh from Muhamad Sháh. The prince, Muhamad Sháh, marched troops against them, and thereupon they brought Sultán Fíróz out from his retirement and exhibited him publicly in their ranks. When the soldiers and elephant-drivers saw the Sultán appear, at the thought of his power and dignity, and the recollection of his many bounties, their hearts turned from the prince and reverted to their old

* *Uhdah-i-sharábdárí*, an important and confidential office in many ancient kingdoms since the days of Joseph's sojourn in Egypt.

† For a full description of this body of men, see Elliot, "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iii. pp. 340, 342. They were, in effect, much such a body as the Janissaries, so well known in later Turkish history.

master. Muhamad Sháh fled to Sirmór, and the Fírózí men plundered his house and the houses of his followers.*

In this year, H. 790 (A.D. 1388), Sultán Fíróz died. His chronogram is found in the words *wafát-i-Fíróz*. He reigned thirty-eight years and nine days. The *bandagán-i-Fírózí* gave the crown to Ghiás-ud-dín Toghlak, son of Fatteh Khán, son of Sultán Fíróz, whom they placed upon the throne in the *koshak*† of Fírózábád. They also despatched a considerable force against Sultán Muhamad. This prince offered some little resistance, but, being defeated, fled from Sirmór. When Toghlak Sháh pursued him he went to Nagarkot. Toghlak Sháh was a mere youth, and yielding to his passions gave himself up to sensual pleasures, so the *bandagán* began to use violence and oppression. In the year H. 791 (A.D. 1389) Malik Rukn-ud-dín Náib put Toghlak Sháh to death and hung up his head in *darbár*. He reigned six months and eighteen days. After this, Abú Bakr, son of Zafar Khán son of Sultán Fíróz, ascended the throne. For a long time a struggle for the throne ensued between him and Sultán Muhamad. The latter suffered defeat at first, but in the end Abú Bakr's army revolted, went over to Sultán Muhamad, and gave Abú Bakr into his hands. Abú Bakr was thrown into prison, where he died, and the throne of Dehlí fell into the power of Sultán Muhamad.

In this year 793 (A.D. 1391) intelligence arrived that the province of Gujarát, under the rule of the Nizám Mufarrah Khán,‡ entitled Rástí Khán, had broken out in rebellion and was in full revolt. On the 2nd Rabí'-ul-awal§ of the same

* This passage does not bear on the general story, and is omitted in several MSS. It seems to be taken from the "Táríkh-i-Mubárah Sháhí." See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 16, and Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," pp. 296 and 305.

† The word *koshak* is generally used of a palace in the country or suburbs, a kind of hunting palace or retreat.

‡ Firishtah calls him "Farhat-ul-Mulk." See *supra*, p. 58.

§ So in the text, but it should probably be "Rabí'-us-sání." See note ‡ on p. 75.

year, Sultán Muhamad gave Zafar Khán* a scarlet tent-equipage, and appointed him to Gujarát to chastise Nizám Mufarrah Khán. Zafar Khán started from Dehlí and pitched his tents at the Hauz-i-khás.† On the 4th of the month Sultán Muhamad followed him out thither, and bade him farewell. Sultán Muhamad kept with him Tátár Khán, son of Zafar Khán, whom he treated as his own son.‡ After several days' march, intelligence came to Zafar Khán that a fine boy had been born in the house of Tátár Khán, and the name Ahmad Khán was given to him.

After some days' continued marching, Zafar Khán reached the district of Nágór, where several inhabitants of Khambáiat (Kambay) waited upon him to complain of the oppression of Rástí Khán. Zafar Khán comforted them and pursued his march. After some further marches he reached the city of Pattan, where he halted and sent a letter of warning to Rástí Khán to the following effect: "It is the part of a wise man to suppress the vehemence of a vain fancy, and to extinguish its house-devouring flames before they have attained to any great height. The man who enters upon the road of rebellion comes in the end to disgrace. It is better for you to ask forgiveness of your offence, so that through my intercession with the Sultán you may obtain pardon." The unfortunate man would not listen to this advice. He sent no answer in accord with it, but marched eleven or twelve *kós* towards Pattan.§ Zafar Khán marched out of Pattan, which is also called Nahrwálah, and a battle was fought at the village of

* Firishtah states that he at this time received the title Muzaffar Khán. The scarlet tent equipage is still much affected by natives of rank. Its colour at once marks out the chief's tents from the rest of the camp, and it is therefore an appanage of dignitaries only. The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says that Zafar Khán received the title of 'Azím Humáiún.

† The village still bears this name. It is situated south-east of Dehlí, close to Toghlakábád and to the tombs of the earlier monarchs of the Toghlak dynasty.

‡ Probably in reality as a pledge for his father's fidelity.

§ He had ten or twelve thousand men, chiefly Hindus.—Firishtah. The MSS. are all palpably corrupt in this place. The meaning given is the best which can be conjectured.

Kámbhú in the district of Pattan. Victory fell to Zafar Khán. The unruly ruler* was slain, and Zafar Khán returned to Pattan in triumph. This event occurred (on the 7th Safar†) A.H. 794 (4th of January A.D. 1392).

Zafar Khán remained for a while in Pattan, and gave orders that a village should be founded on the field of battle. It was called Jít-púr, or "The Town of Victory," and it is flourishing to this day. In the year 795 (A.D. 1393) he proceeded to Khambáiat and brought all the country of Gujarát under his authority, as had been the practice of the Musulmáns. Under his rule insubordination was put down, and the people were rescued from distress and injustice and brought to prosperity and comfort.

It is stated in the "Mahmúd Sháhí" that in the despatch which was sent to the victorious Khán, His Majesty Muhamad Sháh, in his great condescension, wrote a few lines with his own hand. These lines, without the addition or omission of a letter, were as follows:—(*Six lines of titles beginning with*) "Barádar-am Majlis 'Áli Khán" (*and ending with*) "A'zam Humáiún Zafar Khán." He had also sent him a red umbrella and a superb camp equipage in the month of Rabí'-us-sání, H. 793,‡ [when he took leave of him at the commencement of his march, as already described].

In the year H. 796 (A.D. 1394) Sultán Muhamad bin Fíróz Sháh died. His coffin was conveyed from Muhamadábád to Dehlí and deposited in the mausoleum (*khatírah*) of Sultán Fíróz. He reigned six years and seven months. He was succeeded, on the 19th Rabí'-ul-awal, by his eldest son, Humáiún Khán, who took the title of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín. On the 5th

* The original of this expression is *Názim bé-Nizám*.

† "Tab. Akbarí."

‡ This date is probably correct, but the date of Zafar Khán's march from Dehlí must, therefore, be placed in Rabí'-us-sání, and not in Rabí-ul-awal, as before stated. It is not likely that the news of the Gujarát rebellion should have been received on the 1st of Rabí'-ul-awal, that Zafar should receive his orders next day, and march the same day!

Jumád-ul-awal of the same year he died, having reigned only one month and sixteen days. On the 20th of the same month, Mahmúd Khán, his younger brother, ascended the throne with the title of Násir-ud-dunyá-wa-ud-dín Mahmúd Sháh.

At this period information reached Zafar Khán of the Rájah of I'dar having rebelled. The Khán led his army against the rebel and besieged him. Having invested the fort, he sent his forces in all directions over the territory of I'dar to ravage and lay it waste. At length the Rájah, with great humility and sorrow, made due submission, and the Khán withdrew. He then formed the design of destroying the temple of Sómnát, *i.e.* Pattan Díú, but just then intelligence came that Malik Nasír,* *alias* Rájah 'Adil Khán, ruler of the country of A'sír and Burhánpúr, had overstepped the boundaries of his own territory and encroached upon Sultánpúr and Nandarbár, which were dependencies of Gujarát. Zafar Khán gave up his design of going to Pattan, and proceeded by regular marches to repel the encroachments of 'Adil Khán. On hearing of his approach, 'Adil Khán fell back † and returned to A'sír. Zafar Khán also retired and went to Nahrwálah.

In the year H. 797 (A.D. 1395) he led his army against Jharand,‡ a dependency of the country of Ráí Bihárá. He soon brought down the presumption of the infidel of that country, and proceeded from thence to Sómnát. He threw down the celebrated idol temple of that place,§ and honoured

* Firishtah, in his account of the Farúkí dynasty, says that this invasion was really made by Malik Rájah, the father of Nasír Farúkí. According to that writer, Malik Rájah, relying on the promised assistance of Diláwar Khán, of Málwáh (whose daughter was married to Nasír Khán), invaded Gujarát, but was driven into the fort of Thalnir, where he was besieged and compelled to sue for peace. He did not again attack Gujarát.

† "To Tálner."—Firishtah.

‡ Some MSS. have "Bihár," which is clearly an error. The copyists probably confused Jharand with Jhárkand. In the lithographed version it is "Ráí Bihárá." The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Jharand was to the west of Pattan, and perhaps the expression used in that work may be taken as showing that the name was given to some petty collection of villages. The "Tárikh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí" also gives the name as "Jharand."

§ "He burnt the temple, slew the infidels, ravaged the city, and built a mosque."—"Tab. Akbarí."

the city by establishing there the rules and customs of the religion of Islám.

In A.H. 799 (A.D 1397) information was received that the infidel ruler of Mandú * was oppressing the Muhamadans in his country. The Khán called together his ministers and nobles, and thus addressed them : "If the Musulmáns of the east country suffer hardship, it behoves those of the west to render them assistance Now, on the contrary, we hear that the infidels of Mandú are oppressing the Muhamadans in their country. If under these circumstances we remain passive, what excuse shall we have to offer for our conduct when we stand before the throne of the King of Kings? My inclination is to chastise the base infidels. What do you think of the matter?" They replied that they all agreed with him. Orders were given to beat the signal drum for the march, and the forces proceeded towards Mandú.

The Rájah of Mandú, relying in his heart on the strength of his fortress,† shut himself up in it, and the victorious Khán invested it and strove to reduce it. But the place was very strong, and he was long in accomplishing his object. A year and some months he remained before the fortress, but in the end the Rájah of Mandú, being brought to great distress and thoroughly humbled, made a solemn engagement that henceforward he would not harass Muhamadans and would transmit proper tribute.

Zafar Khán went from thence to Ajmír to visit the tomb of Khwájah Mu'ín-ul-hakk-wa-ush-shara'-wa ud-dín.‡ He walked on foot the distance of three *kós* from Ajmír to the sacred tomb, and there went through the proper observances. From thence he proceeded to Sámbhar and Díndwánah. Having

* All the copies agree in this reading, but the "Tab. Akbarí," followed by Firishtah, is no doubt correct in the name "Mandal-garh," which, according to Briggs, "was a dependency of the Ráná of Chitór."

† This is the reading of MS. B, and seems to give the best sense.

‡ Shékh or Khwájah Mu'ín-ud-dín Chíolí (of Chisht). He was the contemporary and chief adviser of Muhamad bin Sám. The saint's shrine is at Ajmír. See "Gazetteer of Ajmir," p. 51.

chastised the infidels there, he went on to Dílwárah and Jagwárah.* There also he chastised the infidels, and then returned to his capital. He reached the city of Pattan on the 17th Ramazán A.H. 799 (A.D. 1397). Then he gave his army rest for a year, and did not go anywhere himself. In this year Tátár Khán, the son of Zafar Khán, came from Dehlí to Pattan.

The author of "Táríkh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí" relates that upon the death of Sultán Muhamad, son of Sultán Fíróz, great disturbances arose and continued in the kingdom of Dehlí, so that every great noble aspired to the throne. After a period of some duration, the authority in Dehlí fell to Ikbál Khán,† as vicegerent. At that time Tátár Khán, son of Zafar Khán, was at the town of Pánípat,‡ whither Ikbál Khán marched. Tátár Khán left his baggage in the fort of Pánípat, and made a dash upon Dehlí and invested it. Ikbál Khán took the fort of Pánípat, seized Tátár's baggage,§ and made the garrison prisoners. This loss disabled Tátár Khán from remaining in that quarter, so he proceeded to Gujarát, intending to raise an army there and renew the war with Ikbál Khán.‖ When he waited upon his father, Zafar Khán, he met with a gracious reception. But although his father showed him every kindness, the high-flying bird of his ambition would not rest in the nest it had found. The desire for revenge upon Ikbál Khán, and his ambitious designs upon Dehlí, were never absent from his heart. His fixed resolve was to lead an army against that city.

At this time the news came that Pír Muhamad Moghal,

* Jalwára.—"Tab. Akbarí." The lithographed edition has "Chakwárah."

† He is called Mallú Khán in other books. See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 31. The version of the lithographed edition has been followed in this passage. In all the MSS. it is palpably corrupt.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Tátár Khán was at Thánésar, but he may well have moved down and seized Pánípat.

§ The MSS. give both *banah* and *bangáh* in this place; and though the latter is no doubt properly (*cf.* "Farkang-i-Rashídí") rather the "place of the baggage," *i.e.* the baggage-guard or rear-guard, the two words seem to be employed in this work as wholly convertible terms, and *bangáh* should be translated as the context indicates in each case.

‖ "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 34.

under the orders of Sáhib-kirán Amír Tímúr Gúrgán, had led his army to the vicinity of Multán, and was besieging that city, which was under the command of Sárang Khán, brother of Ikbál Khán. The design of attacking Dehlí, which under these circumstances would have been criminal, was therefore deferred.

In the year H. 800 (A.D. 1398) Zafar Khán and Tátár Khán marched to punish the infidels of I'dar. They invested the fort and ravaged the country around it, and they were resolved that they would not retire until the country of I'dar was completely subdued. But the intelligence came that Tímúr had arrived at Dehlí and had captured that city. This intelligence made them think it inexpedient to remain absent from their capital; so, exacting a suitable tribute, they made peace with the Rájah Ráo Mal and returned to the fortress of Pattan. In the same year the infidels of Sómnát rose in rebellion on every side, in the hope of regaining their independence. Zafar Khán and his son marched to repress this presumptuous undertaking, and soon crushed the revolt. In this year also, Sultán Mahmúd, the son of Sultán Muhamad and grandson of Sultán Fíróz Sháh, who had fled before Tímúr, and had been leading a vagrant and wandering life in the remote parts and corners of his own dominions, arrived at Pattan.* Zafar Khán went out to meet him, and brought him into Pattan with all honour. Sultán Mahmúd's object was to obtain Zafar Khán's alliance and to march upon Dehlí. The Khán did not think the enterprise advisable, so the Sultán felt aggrieved and departed to Alp Khán,† ruler of Málwáh. But his proposal did not find acceptance with that chief, so the Sultán made no stay, but

* The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" says that Mahmúd's arrival was preceded by that of a host of destitute fugitives from Dehlí, all of whom Zafar Khán received hospitably and relieved according to their several wants.

† Alp was not yet king, or even ruler of Málwáh, his father, Diláwar Khán, being yet alive. As a matter of fact, Diláwar Khán was rather inclined to support the exiled king in an attempt to recover his throne; but Alp Khán disagreed with his father on this point, and withdrew himself to Mandú, where he commenced the building of that celebrated fortress. (Briggs' Firishtah, vol. iv. pp. 168, 169.)

went off to Kanauj, and remained wandering about in that neighbourhood.*

The author of the "Táríkh-i-Mahmúd Sháhí" relates that when Tátár Khán came to Gujarát, he was received very graciously by his father. After some time, he one day,† in a respectful manner and in suitable language, represented to his father that the kingdom of Dehlí had been ruined by the reverses of its unstable sovereigns, and by the ravages and havoc of Tímúr. He urged his father to march on Dehlí, saying that the moment he displayed his standard in the neighbourhood of that city, his arrival would be joyfully hailed by the people. The Khán replied, that it must be borne in mind that short-sighted people always can see in skill nothing but error, and in virtue nothing but wrong-doing. An advance in that direction (*i.e.* on Dehlí) might be undertaken only for the public welfare, still time-serving men would attribute it to a desire of obtaining the throne; any attempt, therefore, at that time, and in that direction, would be inexpedient. The Prince replied‡—

"He who would the throne attain,
Must not from the sword refrain."

* The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" gives the following particulars. It is not clear whether they are merely another version of the events above narrated, under different dates, or whether they are really the events of later years. "In the year 803 A.H. (A.D. 1401) Zafar Khán marched against the fort of I'dar. He invested it. After fighting had gone on for some days, the Rájah one night evacuated the place and fled to Bijanagar. The next morning Zafar Khán, having made his entry into the fort, returned thanks to God, and overthrew the idol temples. He placed a garrison in the fort, divided the country among his chiefs, and, having settled the affairs of the country, returned to Pattan. In the year 804 A.H. (A.D. 1402) Zafar Khán was informed that the infidel Hindús had again assembled round Sómnát, and were making great efforts to re-establish their religion. He set out for the place, sending on his army in advance. The dogs of Sómnát came forth by the road near the sea, and an action began. Zafar Khán pressed forward on the wings of haste, and destroyed many. Those who escaped fled to the fort of (Pattan) Díú. After some days he took the fort, and made all within food for the sword. The chief he cast under the feet of an elephant. He destroyed the idol temples, built a *masjid*, appointed *kázis*, *muftis*, and masters of the law, and, leaving a garrison, returned to Pattan, his capital."

† The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says that Tátár Khán made this proposition soon after the retreat of Tímúr, and when Ikbál Khán had regained power.

‡ The literal meaning of this reply is, of course, "Hereditary kingdoms are only to be won by the sword."

After repeated discussions, in the year 806 A.H. (1403 A.D.), the virtuous mind of Zafar Khán determined to place Tátár Khán upon the throne, with the title of Násir-ud-duniá-wa-ud-dín Muhamad Sháh,* and to make over to him his army, treasure, and all the appanages of royalty. He withdrew himself from the eminence of his grandeur, and retired into private life in the town of Asáwal,† and in the month of Jumád-ul-akhir of that year Sultán Muhamad Sháh ascended the throne at Asáwal, with all pomp and splendour. In the very same week he descended from his throne and mounted his horse to make war upon the infidels of Nádót, and he put down several of them whose forces and whose lofty hills had enabled them to defy the royal power. Then he marched with a large army towards Dehlí, and so raised great apprehension in the heart of Ikbál Khán. Suddenly in the month of Sha'bán he became seriously ill, and though skilled physicians treated him, all was in vain.

When physic only adds to pain,
All hope of cure is surely vain.

He surrendered the jewel of his life, that is to say, his spirit, to the Keeper of Spirits, and his body was buried in the province of Pattan.‡

It is commonly believed among the best-informed of the people of Gujarát, and inquiry seems to confirm the story which has frequently been repeated in history, that Tátár Khán conspired with certain discontented men, his friends outwardly, his enemies in reality, and placed his father in confinement.§ He then seated himself on the throne, with the title of Mu-

* Firishtah gives the title as *Ghiás*-ud-duniá-wa-ud-dín Muhamad Sháh.

† Asáwal was just outside the site subsequently chosen for the city of Ahmadábád, as will appear more fully in the sequel.

‡ "He reigned two months and a few days."—"Tab. Akbarí."

§ "Tátár Khán basely seized his own father and sent him prisoner to Asáwal. He then made himself king."—"Tab. Mubárak-Sháhi," "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 39. See also "Táríkh-i-Alfí," which says that Tátár Khán deprived his father of power, and that he was confined in the fort of Bharúj.

hamad Sháh, and won over all the officials and army. Afterwards he waged war against the infidels of Nádót and subdued them. Then he directed his course towards Dehlí, but drank the draught of death, and went to the city of non-existence. The cause of his death was this. In his ambition for the things of this life he threw aside the respect due to a father, a respect which is a lasting blessing to him who pays it; and God Almighty then sowed the seed of vengeance in the heart of his father, the natural soil of love and the abode of affection. Wherefore some of those who were in attendance upon Tátár Khán, but who were personally inclined to Zafar Khán, gave him poison.* The author of the "Mahmúd Sháhí" (may God forgive him!) has spent a great deal of eloquence upon this matter, but in accordance with the aphorism that plain truth will prevail, he has recorded the fact. After his death, Sultán Muhamad was known as *Khudáiagán-i-Shahíd* "the Martyred Lord."

A story is told that Sultán Muhamad sent a large sum of money as a present to Kutb-ul-'Arifín Shékh Ahmad Ganj-bakhsh, and asked for a blessing on his reign. The Shékh refused to accept it, and sent it back, saying, "This money belongs to your father, withdraw your hand from its possession."

After the death of Sultán Muhamad, Zafar Khán came forth,† and all the officers and nobles again submitted to his

* "Muzaffar Sháh sent one of his confidants to his brother Shams Khán, urging him to kill Tátár Khán and deliver his old brother from his wrongs." Shams Khán expostulated, but Muzaffar Sháh became more urgent, and "Shams Khán, moved with pity for his brother, poisoned Mahmúd Sháh (*sic*) at the town of Sinor. He then hastened (to Asáwal), took his brother out of prison, and replaced him on the throne."—Firishtah. See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 39. The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" also mentions Shams Khán as the reported poisoner of Mahomed Sháh, who had made him vazír.

† According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," "from the fort of Bharúj." This work also expressly says that though Tátár Khán had assumed the royal style of Muhamad Sháh and the royal umbrella, and had the *khutbah* read and coin struck in his name, yet that Zafar Khán refrained from doing so at this time.

rule, and offered their condolences and congratulations. The Khán reassured them, and proceeded towards his capital. But to the end of his life the eyes of Zafar Khán were always full of tears, and his sighs and lamentations never ceased by night or day. He frequently left the cares of government to his brother Shams Khán, and desired to withdraw into seclusion; but Shams Khán's refusal prevented this. At length he sent Shams Khán to take the place of Jalál Khókhar, and conferred upon him the government of Nágór. He named Ahmad Khán, son of Sultán Muhamad, his successor, and trained him for the (royal) office.

On the 19th Sha'bán, in the year H. 807 (A.D. 1404), news arrived that Amír Tímúr had died in that year, after a reign of thirty-six years. In the same year Ikbál Khán marched out of Dehlí to take Kanauj from Sultán Mahmúd, grandson of Sultán Fíróz, who had wandered thither. Sultán Mahmúd was shut up in the fort at that place, and Ikbál Khán besieged him for some time, but his efforts were unavailing, and he returned to Dehlí.

In the year 808 (A.D. 1405) Zafar Khán prepared an army for the assistance of Sultán Mahmúd, and intended to march against Dehlí, but intelligence came that, on the 19th Jumád-ul-awal, a bloody battle was fought between Ikbál Khán and Khizr Khán. Khizr Khán was victorious, and Ikbál Khán was killed. Sultán Mahmúd then proceeded from Kanauj to Dehlí, and sat upon the throne of his ancestors. Zafar Khán's march was thus stopped.

When the striking of coin and supreme authority were no longer exercised by the House of Delhí,* the nobles and officers (of Gujarát) represented to Zafar Khán, at an auspicious time and favourable moment, that the government of the country of Gujarát could not be maintained without the signs

* In rendering this passage the reading of the lithographed edition is followed. Besides, the fact is accurately stated, for the Dehlí kings appear to have struck no coins in their own names between 804 and 815 A.H.

and manifestation of kingly authority. No one was capable of wielding regal power but himself; he was, therefore, indicated by public opinion as the person who ought, for the maintenance of the Mahomedan religion and tradition, to unfold the royal umbrella over his head, and to delight the eyes of those who longed for that beautiful display. In compliance with this requisition, in the year H. 810 (A.D. 1407), three years and seven months* after the death of Sultán Muhamad, the victorious Zafar Khán raised the umbrella of royalty, and took to himself the title of Muzaffar Sháh at Bírpúr.

From Bírpúr, Muzaffar went to Dhár, which is a dependency of Málwah, with the object of obtaining the submission of Alp Khán,† son of Diláwar Khán, the ruler of that country. He intimated that if Alp Khán yielded it would be well for him; if not, he was to be driven from the country. Alp Khán, from ill fate and his pride of power, gave battle; but the brave warriors of Muzaffar Sháh soon scattered his ranks as a whirlwind scatters clouds, and he was obliged to fly into the fortress of Dhár.‡ The Sultán invested the fort, and Alp Khán was quickly reduced to extremity and obliged to surrender. The Sultán ordered him into confinement, and gave the country to Nasrat Khán.§

* According to some MSS. of the "Tab. Akbarí," the interregnum lasted "one year and four months." One MS. has "three years and four months." It says also that Muzaffar Sháh's full title was Shams-ud-duniá-wa-ud-dín.

† "Sultán Muzaffar Sháh had been informed that [Alp Khán afterwards] Sultán Hoshang had poisoned his father Diláwar Khán, so he placed him and some of his associates in confinement. There had been great friendship and affection between the Sultán and Diláwar Khán when they served together under Fíroz Sháh."—"Tab. Akbarí." "Mahomedan Historians," vol. iv. p. 36. Firishtah's verdict (which is probably impartial) is one of "Not proven." The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says that the occasion of Muzaffar's attack was that Hoshang had attempted to assume the position of an independent prince in Málwah; it also calls Nasrat Khán Muzaffar Sháh's brother. Perhaps the discrepancies may be reconciled by supposing that Shams Khán was his only full brother, Nasrat Khán his half-brother.

‡ According to Firishtah the battle was stubbornly contested, and Muzaffar Sháh was himself wounded.

§ The "Tab. Akbarí" calls Nasrat Khán the younger brother of Muzaffar, but this is possibly an error. It is said elsewhere that Muzaffar Sháh had only one brother, Shams Khán, who had just been appointed to Nágór,

Intelligence now arrived that Sultán Ibráhím Jónpúrí had raised his standards at Kanauj with the intention of subduing Dehlí. Sultán Muzaffar thereupon determined to march to the assistance of Sultán Mahmúd, the sovereign of Dehlí. On hearing of this, Sultán Ibráhím Jónpúrí desisted, and returned to Jónpúr. Sultán Muzaffar also fell back to his capital.

Muzaffar carried with him Alp Khán, whom he kept in confinement for a year. Músa Khán, a relation of Alp Khán, who had been governor of Mandú under him, having made himself strong, brought several districts of Málwah into his possession. Alp Khán wrote a petition with his own hand, which he sent to the Sultán Muzaffar. He represented that Músa Khán, who was one of his dependants, had established his authority over Málwah; but that if the Sultán would release him (Alp Khán) from the chains of imprisonment, and bind him with the chains of obligation, he would recover the country from Músa Khán, and would remain the Sultán's obedient servant for the rest of his life. Sultán Muzaffar took Alp Khán into favour, and sent his grandson, Ahmad Khán, and a large army along with Alp Khán to expel Músa Khán from the fortress of Mandú, and ordered him to place Alp Khán in charge of that place and its dependencies, and then himself to return. The prince proceeded by regular marches to Mandú, and Músa Khán, being unable to resist, took to flight. The prince then placed Alp Khán in Mandú, and returned.*

where he and his descendants ruled for long after. Nasrat Khán may, however, possibly be a title by which he was known, or there *may* have been other brothers of Muzaffar Sháh besides Shams Khán. The statements of mere relationship by various writers are, as will be seen hereafter, very vague and contradictory.

* The "Tab. Akbarí" states that the people of Málwah rose against the harsh rule of Nasrat Khán, and expelled him. Then they made Músa Khán, a relation (*khwésh*) of Alp Khán, their chief; and he took up his residence in the fort of Mandú. Sultán Muzaffar released Alp Khán, and sent him with Prince Ahmad and an army to Málwah, of which they soon obtained possession. Prince Ahmad placed it in charge of Alp Khán, and returned to Gujarát. According to Firishtah, Alp Khán had been placed in the custody

In the same year, 810 (A.D. 1407), Sultán Muzaffar sent an army against the infidels of Kambh-kót,* under the command of Khudáwand Khán. He also sent a person to wait upon Shékh Kásim, who was one of the holy men of the time, to ask his blessing, so that the arms of Islám might prove victorious. The Shékh looked over the muster-roll of the army. He drew a line over several of the names, and said, "These men will obtain the crown of martyrdom, the others will return triumphant." The result was just as the Shékh had predicted."

The author of the "*Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí*" places the death of Muzaffar Sháh in the end of the month of Safar A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410), but does not mention the cause of his death. The circumstances of his death, as commonly reported and believed, were as follows. The Kólís inhabiting the town of Asáwal rebelled and took to highway robbery and plundering. Sultán Muzaffar sent the force which he always had in readiness at the seat of government, under the command of Ahmad Khán, to punish them. Ahmad Khán went out of the city and encamped near the reservoir of Khán Sarwar. He there sent for learned men, and asked what was the opinion of men learned in the law and devoted to religion upon the following circumstances. "If one person kills the father of another unjustly, ought the son of the murdered man to exact retalia-

of the prince, and so won him over that he begged, and obtained from the Sultán, the release and reinstatement of his prisoner. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" agrees mainly with this statement, and adds that Nasrat disgusted not only the people of Málwah, but the Gujarát troops also who were with him. A large number of these deserted, and the nobles of Málwah put Músa Khán, who was the cousin (uncle's son) of Hoshang, on the throne. A longer account is also given of the campaign. It is affirmed that Prince Ahmad went no farther than Dhár, and then returned. Hoshang was not at first joined by the nobles, whose families were for the most part in Músa Khán's power at Mandú; and he himself went to Mahésar on the Narbadah, where he endeavoured to effect the conquest of the country, but without success, until Malik Ma'ghís, who was a son of one of Hoshang's uncles, took his part, and fled out of Mandú to him. This began to break up Músa Khán's party, and eventually he found himself unable to hold Mandú, and marched out of one gate as Hoshang walked in by another.

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives this name as "Kanth-kót."

tion?" Everyone answered "Yes," and they gave their formal opinion. Ahmad Khán took the paper and kept it by him. Next day he went into the city, made the Sultán prisoner, and poisoned him. The Sultán said to him, "O son, why art thou in such haste? all this is intended for you." He replied (in the words of the Kurán), "All men have their times appointed, and when the hour is come, they cannot delay or advance it a moment." The Sultán said, "Listen to a few words of advice from me, which will be useful to you. First, do not give your friendship to him who has led you to this deed, but rather put him to death. Next, abstain from strong drinks, for such abstinence is proper for kings. Put Shékh Malik and Shír Malik to death, for they are both strife-makers." He spoke also some other words of advice.

Sultán Muzaffar died at the end of the month of Safar, and was buried in the tomb which is in the citadel of Pattan. It is said that Sultán Ahmad bitterly repented of, and suffered deep remorse after, the death of his grandfather, which he compassed in the thoughtless days of youth through association with the wicked.*

* The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says that Sultán Muzaffar reigned eighteen years eight months and fourteen days. The "Tab. Akbarí" says he reigned three years eight months and sixteen days after his second accession, and died in the month of Safar 814, five months and thirteen days after the accession of Ahmad Sháh. This is explained by the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," which states that Sultán Muzaffar, being ill, abdicated in favour of his grandson, when he had reigned three years eight months and sixteen days, but that he did not *die* till five months and sixteen days later, which are reckoned as part of his reign, though the *khutbah* was read, and coin was struck, in the name of Ahmad Sháh during that interval. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says nothing of the poisoning, but, on the contrary, declares that Muzaffar died of the disease which caused him to abdicate. This tallies with the account of the "Tab. Akbarí." The facts so circumstantially given by these two writers *seem* to be correct, and although not absolutely irreconcilable with the supposition that Ahmad caused his grandfather to be poisoned, are at least *primâ facie* in conflict with it, and, at any rate, seem to dispose of the alleged motive for the crime.

CHAPTER IV.

REIGN OF AHMAD SHÁH, SON OF TÁTÁR KHÁN, SON OF ZAFAR KHÁN (MUZAFFAR SHÁH).

SULTA'N AHMAD,* son of Muhamad Sháh, son of Muzaffar Sháh, ascended the throne on the 14th Ramazán A.H. 813 (A.D. 1410). Soon afterwards his cousin Módúd, son of Fíróz Khán,† who was Governor of Barodah, won over the *amírs* of that country, and set up his own claim to rule. In order to carry into effect his futile design, he allied himself with certain men fond of turmoil, who joined him at Nariád, such as Hísám-ul-Mulk Bhandírí and Malik Ahmad his son, Malik Badar‡ Khatrí, and the son of Habíb-ul-Mulk Mustáufí, Malik Karím Khusrú, Jíwan Dás, and Payág Dás. They defeated Bíkan and A'dam Afghán,§ the king's men, and, making Jíwan Khatrí their leader, they went on their way to destruction.‖

* He assumed the title of Násir-ud-dín, which is given on his coins. See Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathan Kings," p. 352.

† Firishtah says that Fíróz Khán himself was leader of the revolt, and was proclaimed king. The reading of the name here given is supported by the "Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh," and is, no doubt, accurate, although the "Tab. Akbarí," followed by Firishtah, says, "Fíróz Khán, son of Sultán Muzaffar Sháh." The printed version calls him "Mu'id-ud-dín, cousin of the Sultán." See subsequent notes.

‡ "Malik Badar," in two MSS. which have been followed; others read "Shahpadar."

§ The "Tab. Akbarí" makes these the names of one man; but the probabilities are in favour of the reading in the text. Bíkan Afghán escaped, and rejoined the Sultán.

‖ The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Sultán Hoshang of Málwah had agreed to support this rebellion, and had actually put his army in the field with that object. Sultán Hoshang was the "Alp Khán" of the previous chapter, who was under obligations to the dynasty, and probably personally to Ahmad Sháh himself. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" supports the statement of the "Tab. Akbarí," and says that the descendants of Muzaffar Sháh having come to an agreement between themselves, Sultán Hoshang had to return, having effected nothing. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that 'Imád-ul-Mulk was sent to attack Hoshang, who retreated, and several of the zamíndars who had joined him were captured and imprisoned.

One day Jíwan Dás assembled the *amírs*, and said that it was incumbent on them to attempt the reduction of Nahrwálah (*i.e.* Pattan), if they intended to carry out their design. They replied that they were incapable of contending with Ahmad Khán, and that it would be wiser to propose terms of accommodation. Jíwan charged them with pusillanimity, and the discussion ended by a quarrel, in which Jíwan was killed. The *amírs* all went and paid homage to the Sultán, from whom they received presents and honours.*

Módúd, son of Fíróz Khán, went to Khambáiat. Then he was joined by Shékh Malik, entitled "Mastí" † Khán, son of Sultán Muzaffar,‡ who was Governor of Súrat § and Ránér. When the Sultán marched against them they left Kambháiat, and went to Bharúj (Broach).‖ He pursued them thither, and invested the place. The army of Módúd sent envoys to the Sultán, came over to him, and made their submission. Mastí Khán also asked permission to wait on the Sultán, who, a few days later, sent for him, received him graciously, and forgave his offence. Sultán Ahmad then returned successful to the city of Asáwal. When he got to Asáwal he began to plan the extirpation of A'sá Bhíl.¶

* Firishtah says he restored them to all the *jágírs*, &c.

† "Habíb" is given in none of the texts, which read "Mati," "Mithi," "Med," and "Shahraman," but the "Tab. Akbarí" consistently uses the name "Habíb," which is in accordance with Mahomedan nomenclature. "Mastí Khán" may have been his nick-name.

‡ The "Tab. Akbári" says that Sa'adat Khán and Sher Khán, also sons of Sultán Muzaffar, joined him. Firishtah gives these names also.

§ These names are variously given: "Súrat" occurs as "Sórath," and Ránér in various shapes; but, from the subsequent locality of the fighting, "Súrat" seems the most probable reading.

‖ According both to the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah, Sultán Hoshang was again in communication with this fresh set of rebels, and, apparently, had actually marched to assist them. It is possible that the statement cited, in note ‖, p. 88, also from the "Tab. Akbarí," may apply to this occasion. The account of the "Tab. Akbarí" here clearly supplies a deficiency in the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí."

¶ In most of the MSS. this passage reads simply, "extirpated A'sá Bhíl," but one MS. gives the reading adopted, which is evidently preferable; for so important an action as the destruction of A'sá Bhíl would hardly have been thus cursorily noticed; and, as a matter of fact, if, as is probable, A'sá Bhíl was the same as the founder of Asirgarh, this was eventually accomplished (in an utterly cruel and treacherous manner) by another hand. (See Firishtah, vol. iv. pp. 288–90, Briggs' translation.)

In this same year,* which is known by the word "*ákhír*" (foundation), with the assent and leave of that Moon of the Faithful and Sun of the Righteous, Shékh Ahmad Ganj-bakhsh, he began to build and establish the great city† of Ahmadábád, in the immediate vicinity of Asáwal.‡ This foundation has been well celebrated in poetry by Halwí Shirází.§ In the year 820‖ (A.D. 1417), the fortifications of Ahmadábád were finished;¶ the year is known by the word "*khirak.*" It is recorded that the founding of the city of Ahmadábád is attributable to four persons of the name of Ahmad. First, that Pole-star of Shékhs and Holy Men, Shékh Ahmad Khattú, who lined out with his own hand the west side; second, the king of the city, who lined out the east side; third, Shékh Ahmad; and fourth, Mulla Ahmad, who respectively lined out the other two sides, both of these last being among the connections of the Sultán and among the great men of the time. It is recorded that Sultán Ahmad had many outward graces and was pure-minded, and he was usually favoured by God. The beauty of the city of Ahmadábád testifies to this, and all four Ahmads** have ever since been

* This is a chronogram which, by the *abjad* method, gives 813 A.H.

† "Shahr-i-Mu'azzam," the epithet which the writer usually applies to Ahmadábád.

‡ As will be evident from several passages which occur later on, "Asáwal" remained outside the walls of Ahmadábád. One part of it was, perhaps, near the tank marked "Asárva" on the Trigonometrical Survey Map of Gujarát, Sheet No. 7, 6 miles N.W. of Ahmadábád; but it seems also to have extended to the banks of the Sabarmati river on the one side, and up to the gates of the city on the other.

§ "Halwí Shirází" was the author of the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí," and the verses alluded to form the first of several extracts from that work which will be dealt with hereafter.

‖ 820. This date is variously given in the MSS. as 810, 816, 820, 830; but 810 A.H. was before Ahmad Sháh's accession, and is, therefore, impossible, but is (as written) an easy error for 820. Two MSS., however, give 820, and the chronogram *khirak* (apparently the Hindí or Gujarátí *khirkh* or *khirki*, "a door"), also gives, by the *abjad* method, 820 A.H.

¶ The "Táríkh-i-Alfí," in giving the detail of the building, says it was built on the banks of the Sabarmati, to which, however, it gives the fuller name of "Sabarnah mati," evidently the Sanskrit "Suvarna mati."

** Shékh Ahmad Khattú, surnamed Ganj-bakhsh ("the treasure-giver"), was surnamed from Khattú, a village near Nágór, which was the residence of his spiritual father, Shékh (or Bábá) Ishák, and where the latter lies buried. He was instructed by Ishák in the learning and doctrines of the "Silsilah Maghribíah" (or Western sect), of which he became the lamp or

praised, for by the blessing of their instrumentality this city is so charming to behold that in beauty it outvies all the cities of the earth. Travellers are agreed that they have found no city in the whole earth so beautiful, charming, and splendid.*

most famous teacher. He started on a pilgrimage to the holy places, while Rástí Khán was governing Gujarát. He embarked at Kambháiat, and on his way thither passed through Pattan, where he became acquainted with, and was apparently received into favour by, Fatteh Khán, the father of Rástí Khán. He did not return by Gujarát, but disembarked at Tathah. He, however, had learned to like Gujarát, and while Muzaffar was still ruling as Governor, and before he had assumed the title of Sultán, he came to Gujarát and settled at Sarkhéj, a village about three *kós* (S.E.) from Asáwal, and afterwards, at Ahmadábád. He was, as has been seen, associated with Sultán Ahmad in the building of the latter place, and is said to have actively exerted himself in carrying out the Sultán's wishes. He died at Sarkhéj, in 849 A.H., at the alleged age of 111 (lunar) years. He lies buried at Sarkhéj, and his mausoleum, with the buildings attached, are said to have been begun by Muhamad Sháh I., the son of Ahmad Sháh, and to have been completed by his son and successor, Kutb-ud-dín Sháh. Sultán Mahmúd Bigárah and Sultán Muzaffar II. ("the Clement") lie buried in the shadow of his tomb. [Blochmann's "A'ín-i-Akbarí," p. 507, which quotes the "Khazínat-ul-Asfiá, Lahór," p. 967, and other works on saints, and also the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," which quotes the "Malfúz-i-Kabír," of Shékh Abúl Kásim, "Pésh inmáz."] Of the third Ahmad, Malik Ahmad, the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says, "He sleeps near the Káhnpúrah Gate." Of the fourth, Kází Ahmad, the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" merely says that he died at Pattan in 840 A.H., and lies buried there.

* The Emperor Aurangzíb thought differently. In his Memoirs, after abusing the climate, the character of the country, the vegetation, the water, he goes on to say, "I have already called this city Gardábád (the Abode of Dust); now I know not what to call it—whether Samúmistán (the Country of the Simúm or hot wind), Bímáristán (the Country of Ill-health), Zakkúmdár (Thorn-brake), or Jahannumábád (the Abode of Hell), for all these names are appropriate."—"Mahomedan Historians," vol. vi. p. 359. From Mr. Hope's work on the architecture of Ahmadábád it appears that there were at least two other ancient Hindu cities close to this neighbourhood besides Asáwal—Chandrasisti and Srinagar. As has been seen, Asáwal itself was traditionally without the walls; but Mr. Hope says, "An old Hindu fortification or enclosure, containing a temple of the goddess Bhadra-Kálee was selected as a nucleus, and one of its towers called Mánik boorooj (burj) is said to contain the foundation-stone (whence the name of the principal street, the Mánik Chók). Close by arose a mosque, named after the Sultán, a palace which received magnificent additions in subsequent reigns, and other edifices, some of which still survive as public buildings, and make the enclosure, yet called the Bhudder (Bhadar), now, as ever, the seat of Government." At a distance of about a mile from the palace, the city walls described a semicircle of some five miles in circumference, resting on the river and frowning down upon it, fifty feet high or more. The space within the ramparts was reserved for the faithful alone; in the suburbs the Hindoo was permitted to locate himself."—Hope's "Architecture of Ahmadábád," 1st ed., p. 27. It must not, however, be forgotten that the city walls are not now as left by Sultán Ahmad. Sultán Mahmúd Bigárah is expressly said by Firishtah to have drawn a fresh line of circumvallation round the city. Sultán Ahmad is said by the "Tab. Akbarí" to have founded 360 *púrahs* or hamlets outside the city, and some of these appear, from later notices, to have been included within this or some other later wall.

Other cities may excel it in population, but no other city comes up to it in beauty and splendour.* The chief *masjid* situated near Mánik Chók, was commenced in A.H. 815† (A.D. 1412). A detailed account of its measurement, of its pillars, its domes, and its arches, has been drawn up for the information of the followers of Islám.

Length (exclusive of the court and north and south corridors (ایواں))	100 *gaj*
Breadth (exclusive of the court)	50 „
Breadth of the court	120 „
Breadth of the south and north wings (بازوہا) . .	20 „

NUMBER OF PILLARS.

Within the *masjid* itself (exclusive of those in the Mulúh Khánah)	352
In the entrance of the Mulúh Khánah	12
In the throne of the Mulúh Khánah	8
In the north and south corridors	212
In the east, south, and north gates	32
In the	91

DOMES.

Besides the domes on the south and north corridors, and on the great gates	77

Of which 20 are large, and 57 small.

STEPS.

In each of the two recesses are 176 steps, and below each 93.

* Here follow two pieces of poetry, possibly extracts from the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí" of Halwí Shirází.

† 815 is the date given in all the MSS., but the lithographed copy has 817. The former date is, in itself, more probable, for the Sultán, who was a zealous Mahomedan, was not likely to have deferred the foundation of the great public *masjid* of his new city for several years. The dimensions given prove that the *masjid* mentioned is the great or *jam'a masjid* of the city, which bears an inscription, stating that it was founded by Sultán Ahmad, and was finished in 827, seven years after the fort or "Bhadar." The *masjid* now known as that of Sultán Ahmad stands inside the "Bhadar" in the S.W. corner; it was used by Sultán Ahmad's successors as a kind of royal chapel, and was probably erected for that purpose. Its inscription states that it was finished in 817.—("Indian Antiquary." vol. iv. (1875), pp. 290, 291. See also Hope's "Architecture of Ahmadábád." Burgess's "Report on Kathiáwár," p. 5.)

In the same year* that the Sultán left Bharúj (Broach), and engaged in the building of Ahmadábád, Módúd son of Fíróz and Mastí Khán, at the instance of the puzzle-headed Badar 'Alá,† entered into a conspiracy with Ran Mal, Rájah of I'dar, and broke out in rebellion. They sought refuge in I'dar. The Sultán marched towards I'dar to put them down. From the town of Birhatí‡ he sent a powerful army, under the command of Hoshang, whose title was Futteh Khán, his only uncle, and son§ of Sultán Muzaffar. This force was to march by way of the town of Mórásah, into the country of I'dar. At this juncture Ibráhím, son of Nizám, whose title was Rukn Khán, held Mórásah on the part of Sultán Ahmad. The rebel Módúd brought this Rukn Khán over to his side. Módúd, Badar 'Alá, Mastí Khán, and Ran Mal, Rájah of I'dar, having joined, set forth from I'dar and went to the village of Rangpúr,‖ one of

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says in 814.

† Badar 'Alá was, according to the "Tab. Akbarí," a near connection of Muzaffar Sháh I., and that work says that it was this Badar 'Alá who instigated Módúd to his first revolt; if so, he may be the same as Malik Badar Khattú, spoken of in a previous note. Considering that Muzaffar Sháh was himself originally of a Khattú stock, it is quite possible that Badar 'Alá may have been a Khatrí of the same stock; or he may have been a connection by marriage. One MS. makes Fíróz Khán also a participator in this outbreak, or, at least, to have instigated it.

‡ Or Barhaní, or Parhaní, "Pirthí." One MS. of the "Tab. Akbarí" has "Pataní," but most MSS. give Birhatí.

§ The language of the writer is vague, and the relationship of the various persons named to Sultán Muzaffar and to Ahmad is not always very clear. Shams Khán Dindání seems certainly to have been the brother of Muzaffar Sháh, and may have been the same as Nasrat Khán, who has been already mentioned. Fíróz Khán was certainly the son of Shams Khán, who was Governor of Nágór when Muzaffar died—where, also, his descendants seem to have long continued in power. Módúd was son of Fíróz Khán. Fíróz Khán seems to have died (see *infra*) in 855 A.H., and Módúd, whose death is also expressly mentioned, would seem to have predeceased his father. Their relation to Ahmad Sháh was that of cousinship. It is less easy to say what was the exact relationship of Mastí (Haibát) Khán; he is called a son of Muzaffar Sháh, but, on the other hand, Fatteh Khán is said to be Ahmad's "*only* uncle." This *may* mean only uncle of full blood. Firishtah, however, calls Mastí (Haibát) Khán also the King's full (*hakíkí*) uncle, and both the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" and Firishtah, as has been seen, make Sa'adat and Sher Khán also sons of Muzaffar Sháh, and it seems they too joined this rebellion. According to Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí," moreover, Fatteh Khán was also won over by Sayyid Ibráhím (Rukn Khán), and joined the rebels with his whole force.

‖ According to the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí," only Módúd and the Rájah of I'dar were in Rangpúr. The other chiefs were all in Mórásah. This account tallies better with the subsequent story, for Badar 'Alá was killed in the storming of Mórásah.

the dependencies of I'dar, about five *kós* from Mórásah. There they encamped. They then began to strengthen the fort of Mórásah. They dug a deep ditch round it, and they furnished the ramparts with guns and muskets in regular form.

The Sultán marched and encamped near Mórásah. His religious feelings and fear of God inclined him to peace. He sent a messenger to the rebels to warn them that perseverance in revolt would end in their destruction, and that they had better seek for forgiveness and open for themselves the gates of mercy. To this they gave no ear. The Sultán invested the fort, and again pressed friendly counsel upon them. The rebels deceitfully and treacherously answered that they had again and again offended, so they despaired for their lives and for the safety of their families. They intreated that some of the ministers and nobles of the state should be sent to conduct them to the royal presence, and the names were suggested of Nizám-ul-Mulk, *wazír*, of Sa'd-ul-Mulk, commander of the left wing, Malik Ahmad 'Azíz-ul-Mulk, and Nasír-us-Saif, entitled Azhdar Khán.

The Sultán granted this request, but said (to those who went), "Do not go into the fort, and beware of treachery." When the above-mentioned nobles approached the gate of the fort, Badar 'Alá, who had set a party of armed men in ambush, came out to meet them. They conversed freely and pleasantly with each other, so that the *amírs* were deceived, and all suspicion of treachery was banished from their hearts. Badar 'Alá then proposed that Nizám-ul-Mulk and Sa'd-ul-Mulk should come aside and listen in private to what he had to say. They withdrew from the assembly, and Badar 'Alá gave the signal for the men in ambush to rush out, and having made the two *maliks* prisoners, to take them inside the fort.* Nizám-ul-Mulk cried out with a loud voice, "Tell the Sultán that what was fated has happened to us, and let him not delay, on our account, in

* "And confine them, with chains on their feet, in a dark cell."

pressing the siege and reducing the fort."* The Sultán gave orders for his men to push boldly forward to the fort on every side, and to swarm round it like ants. On the third day he himself went to the edge of the ditch, and the soldiers escaladed the fort on all sides. The rebels gave up resistance, and tried to hide themselves in underground places.† Badar 'Alá and Rukn-ud-dín Khán were killed. Módúd, son of Fíróz, and the Rájah of I'dar escaped and fled to I'dar. Nizám-ul-Mulk and Sa'd-ul-Mulk came out safe and sound from the dungeon in which they had been confined. This happened on the 5th Jumád-al-awal, A.H. 814 (A.D. 1411).

When the Rájah of I'dar realised what had happened‡ he hit upon a plan for making terms for himself. He got together all the elephants and horses belonging to Módúd, son of Fíróz Khán, and of Mastí Khán, and sent them to the Sultán. He then gave up their baggage to plunder. After this they went to Nágór and joined Shams Khán Dindání.§ This man was called Dindání because some of his front teeth had grown long and projected. In the end, Módúd|| was killed in a battle between Ráná Mókal, Rájah of Chítor, and Shams Khán Dindání. When the Sultán learned what the Rájah of I'dar had done, he forgave his offences, and after receiving a suitable tribute from him, returned.

In the year H. 816 (A.D. 1413) 'Usmán Ahmad Sarkhejí and Sher Malik, son of Sah Malik, officials¶ in the town of Nahr-

* The "Tab. Akbarí" explains that this speech was made, as it appeared that the object of Badar 'Alá in seizing these nobles was that he hoped that the storm of the fort would hardly be attempted while he held them in his power.

† *Tai-khánahhái*, *i.e.* underground rooms, used both for concealment and for occupation in warm weather.

‡ This shows that the Rájah could not have been in Mórásah itself.

§ Dindáni, from *dandán*, "teeth." The literal meaning of the explanation in the text is, that the two teeth between the two centre and the two canine teeth had grown out and projected.

|| The "Tab. Akbarí" makes this Fíróz Khán, and also gives the battle as being between Fíróz Khán and Ráná Mókal. The text is probably correct.

¶ The word is *tarfdarán*, which means usually the administrators of certain small subdivisions of territory.

wála, Ahmad Sher Malik, Sulémán Afghán* entitled 'Azam Khán, and I'sa Sálár, turned traitors and opened a secret correspondence with Sultán Hoshang, King of Málwah, telling him that if he had a mind to conquer the country of Gujarát, he should come forward, and they would bestir themselves to assist him, and that, between them, in removing Sultán Ahmad the throne of Gujarát would be at his disposal. To strengthen themselves in this design they won over several of the *zamíndárs* of Gujarát, such as Kánhá Satarsál, Rájah of the country of Jháláwár, who had fallen into the hell of turbulence, and others, and prepared a revolt. Sultán Hoshang, upon this incitement, sent several of his chief officers from his capital towards Gujarát to make war upon Sultán Ahmad.

When he was informed of these proceedings, Sultán Ahmad sent Prince Latíf Khán, his brother,† and the *wazír* Nizám-ul-Mulk to bring Shékh (Shér) Malik and Kánhá to account. He also marched out himself, and took up a position at the village of Pándrú, in the *pargana* of Sánouli, ten miles from the hill of Chámpánír. Thence he sent 'Imád-ul-Mulk Khásah-khél,‡ at the head of a powerful army, to attack Hoshang. Sultán Hoshang said to his ministers and *amírs*, "I must not fight against 'Imád-ul-Mulk; for if Heaven gives me the victory, it will be said that I have vanquished the slave of Sultán Ahmad; but if the result should be contrariwise, it will be said that the slave of Sultán Ahmad defeated Sultán Hoshang. This would be defeat upon defeat. So it is better to withdraw from this war at once." Sultán Hoshang accordingly, considering discretion the better part of valour,

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says Malik Adam Bhíkan Sulémán Afghán, thus making him the same as the loyal chief defeated in Módúd's first revolt.

† The MSS. of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" differ as to the relationship; two, and the lithographed version, call him "brother," two call him "cousin," and one "own brother to Sultán Mahmúd." The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" says the Sultán's own brother and son of Sultán Mahmúd, *i.e.* the Sultán's father, originally Tátár Khán.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" adds the epithet of "Samarkandí."

retreated.* 'Imád-ul-Mulk laid waste a small portion of the territories of Málwah and retired. Latíf Khán and Nizám-ul-Mulk drove Shékh Malik and Satarsál before them to the country of Sórath, which belonged to Mandalík, Rájah of Girnár. There they left the offenders to the consequences of their offence, and returned.† Sultán Ahmad went with a light and joyful heart to Ahmadábád.

It is well known to historians that the rust of idolatry was first removed from the mirror of the country of Gujarát by 'Alá-ud-dín, King of Dehlí.‡ Along a line drawn from the city of Nahrwálah to the fortress of Bharúj (Broach) the faith of Islám shone bright, but in the countries beyond that line the dimness of infidelity maintained its ground. In the end the efforts and perseverance of the Sultáns of Gujarát (God's mercy and pardon be on them!) made all pure and bright. Several districts were brought to the light of Islám by Sultán Ahmad, and will be mentioned, with descriptions.

* It need not be said that this is not the literal translation, but it gives the force of the sneer conveyed by the original, and, indeed, is not far from its actual purport. The "Tab. Akbarí" enters into a grave argument to prove that Sultán Hoshang's defence was a very lame one.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," when Latíf Khán halted to return, the rebels came back and made a night attack on his camp, which, however, resulted in their entire discomfiture

‡ *Cf.* Elphinstone's "History of India," 3rd ed. (1849), p. 677: "When Gujarát separated from Dehlí, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the N.W. were the independent Rájahs of Jhalór and Siróhí, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The Rájah of Pdar, another Rajpút prince, was in possession of the western part of the hills, and though he was obliged to pay contributions, and sometimes regular tribute, yet these advantages were seldom gained without a struggle, and he was a constant source of disturbance to the King of Gujarát by joining his enemies and harbouring fugitives from his country. The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhíls and Kólís, among whom some Rajpút princes, mostly connected with Mewár, had also formed petty states. The peninsula [of Sórath or Kathiáwár] was in the hands of some of the Hindú tribes, who had mostly come from Koch or Sind at different periods some centuries before. They were probably tributary, but by no means obedient. All these petty states preserved their existence, and were within the last few years almost as independent as under the Kings of Gujarát. The real possessions, therefore, of these Kings only included the plains between the hills and the sea, and, even of that the eastern part belonged to a Rájah who resided in the fort of Chámpánír. On the other hand, the territory of Gujarát stretched along the sea to the south-east so as to embrace the city of Súrat, and some of the country beyond it."

In the year H. 817 (A.D. 1414), Sultán Ahmad marched against the infidels of Girnár, a celebrated fortress in the country of Sórath. Ráo Mandalík,* the Rájah of Girnár, had assembled his forces near the skirts of the mountains to await him. He fought an action with the royal troops, and was defeated; a large number of infidels are said to have been slain. The Rájah fled to his fortress.† The light of Islám did not shine fully over the country on this occasion; still the power of the infidels was broken, and they were changed from the quality of *harbis* (*i.e.* enemies) to the condition of *zimmis* (*i.e.* tributaries or subjects). The fort of Junahgarh, which stands near the skirt of the mountains of Girnár, fell into the hands of the Sultán,‡ and many of the *zamíndárs* of Sórath submitted, gave in their allegiance, and agreed to pay suitable tribute. The Sultán then returned to his capital, leaving Sultán Säíd Ab-ul-Khán and Säíd Kásim to receive the payments of the *zamíndárs*.

In the month of Jumád-ul-awal A.H. 818 (A.D. 1415),§ Ahmad went forth with his army to destroy the temple of Sidhpúr, the

* Ráo Mandalík, the title assumed by all the chiefs of Girnár. According to the "Táríkh-i-Sórath," the Ráo Mandalík was, at this period, Khengán, son of Jaya Singh.

† There are some descriptive verses here quoted from the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí," of Halwí Shirází. It is intended to give these in vol. ii., when describing that work.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" implies that the fort capitulated, and it says that the law and teaching of Islám were restored, *i.e.* as Muhamad Toghlak had established them.

§ Firishtah says that "in this year Sultán Ahmad gave to Malik Tuhfah the title of Táj-ul-Mulk, and commissioned him to war with the infidels on the borders of Gujarát. He overcame them, and placed the burden of the *jizíah* and *kharáj* (the tax on infidels and the payment of revenue or tribute) on the necks of recusants and rebels. Some he brought into the fold of Islám, and he established such a firm hold upon Gujarát that the names of *grás* and *mawás* were no longer heard of." The expedition was probably against a number of petty recusants. As to the terms *grás* and *mawás*, they occur repeatedly in the course of this work. As to their etymology, see "Rás Mála," 2nd ed. p. 567. It may be said that at this time *grás* had come to signify (1) black mail paid to powerful local chiefs for protection and for immunity from plunder, (2) lands or allowances made over to such chiefs by Government, or allowed to be retained by them both as a politic provision to keep them quiet, and as a retainer, for military or other services; as a matter of fact, the holders of these fiefs were mostly Rájpúts, and the lands they held part of their ancient hereditary possessions. *Mawás* seems to signify "a natural stronghold," or place of refuge not necessarily fortified,

idols of which were all made of silver and gold.* In the year H. 819 (1416 A.D.) the Sultán led his army against Dhár, for the following reason. On the occasion when the Sultán marched against Sultánpúr and Nandarbár, in order to put down Nasír bin 'Ain-ul-Mulk,† the ruler of Asír and Burhán-

such as abounded in the rough and sparsely populated hills to the east of Gujarát. In these places many Kólí and other chiefs maintained a quasi-independent authority, and were termed *mawásís*. It was the policy of the Mahomedan rulers to reduce as far as possible the independent status both of *grásiahs* and *mawásís*, and the extracts already given from the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" as to the condition of the revenue in the days of Muzaffar III., show that even then that policy had been carried very far. In the early and palmy days of Moghul rule this desired object was almost completely attained. Only a very few chiefs still retained any *grás* allowances or any hereditary status. But in the decline of the Moghul empire some of those who were wealthy enough extended their influence by farming Government villages in their own neighbourhood, and when the central power collapsed these villages were included in their *grás*. Others levied, by force, dues from the cultivators of all the villages which they could overawe. (This class of *grás* is now distinguished in Gujarát as *Todá grás*.) And thus many of the old families, especially in Káthiáwár, who had been crushed and impoverished, recovered much of their ancient importance and in a great measure still retain it under British rule. [The latter part of this note is given in the words of Major Watson, Political Agent in Kathiáwár.] The following extract of a translation by Mr. Kinloch Forbes ("Rás Mála," 2nd ed., p. 564) gives a vivid picture of the result of Ahmad Sháh's policy and of the state of the country in his time. "All the *zamíndárs* in the time of Ahmad Sháh raised their heads in rebellion; they were, however, punished, and the servants of the king established in every place. In consequence of being thus completely dispossessed, that bad (class) of inhabitants being hopeless, began to infest the roads and villages with their depredations. Anarchy ensued. . . . Those whose duty it was to advise put an end to these calamities, and exacted security from the *zamíndárs* to discontinue their opposition. Three portions of the land of each was acknowledged as the portion of the king, and one part that of the *zamíndárs*, under the denomination of *wántá*, and they engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own villages, and to hold themselves in readiness for the service of the king whenever called upon. As these people did not see it possible to maintain themselves without paying obedience to the prince, they now attended to make their submission and to pay the king's *salámí* for their *wántás*. From this time *salámí* and *peshkash* became established among them. Some of the *zamíndárs* were converted to Islám and were entrusted with their own talukahs. . . . they engaging, however, to pay the imperial *peshkash*; on the other hand, from those *zamíndárs* over whom the hand of conquest did not extend, the payment of a yearly *peshkash* was exacted." The Hindú *zamíndárs* seem to have retained their *wántá* till the time of Mahmúd III., by whom it was forcibly resumed. *Salámí* and *peshkash* were apparently money payments, probably of no great amount, exacted as an acknowledgment of the Sultán's superiority.

* Here also follow verses pretty certainly from the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí (though this is not *expressly* said), and these also it is proposed to give in Vol. II.

† Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" here supply several links which are deficient in the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí." In the first place the former author relates that in 819 A.H. (it must have been early in the year) Sultán Ahmad marched

púr, the *zamíndárs* of Gujarát, such as Púnjá Rájah of l'dar, Tirbang Dás Rájah of Chámpánír, Satarsál Rájah of Jhalá-wár, and Tirí Rájah of Nadót, conspired together, and wrote to Sultán Hoshang, the ruler of Mandú, informing him that Sultán Ahmad had gone to Sultánpúr and Nandarbár, and that he was fighting with Nasír-ud-dín, and (promising) that if he (Sultán Hoshang) would seize the opportunity of attacking Gujarát, they would make his conquest of that country an easy matter. Accordingly, Sultán Hoshang prepared an army, and wrote to Shams Khán Dindání and to Módúd, the son of Fíróz Khán, of whom mention has been before made, informing them of his intention to attack Gujarát, and asking them to lend their assistance. In return, he promised to make over to them the city of Pattan and its dependencies, and told them that, if they refused, Sultán Ahmad would satisfy his old grudge against them. Upon the receipt of this message, Shams Khán wrote to Sultán Ahmad, informing him that Sultán Hoshang was secretly hostile to him, and had solicited their assistance in an attack which he was meditating on

on a "religious campaign" towards Nágór, destroying all the idols and idol-temples which he came across, and acquiring much plunder. He arrived at Nágór (held apparently by Shams Khán Dindání) and laid siege to it, but on hearing that Khizr Khán, the ruler of Dehlí, was marching to its relief and had advanced as far as the village of Táng, Ahmad Sháh raised the siege and returned to Ahmadábád. The subsequent events about to be described are referred by Firishtah to the year 821; but, as they manifestly occurred between the Nágór expedition and the events recorded in the text, they must have taken place in 819 A.H. They are as follows: It would seem that while Sultán Ahmad was campaigning in Nágór, Nasír, who had succeeded his father, Malik Rájah (whose title, apparently, was 'Ain-ul-Mulk), as ruler of Asír and Burhánpúr (Khándésh), invaded Sultánpúr and Nandarbár, the outlying provinces of Gujarát adjoining his own frontier. Sultán Ahmad moved down promptly to Sultánpúr [it is not quite clear whether he went in person, but it seems, from what followed, probable that he did so], and the invasion failed. Firishtah says that Nasír Khán was incited to this attack by Sultán Hoshang. On its failure, Nasír Khán retired to Asír, and Sultán Ahmad despatched a force against *Batnól* (now called Tamból), a small hill-fort in Khándésh, which was reduced [Firishtah says a large sum of money was exacted from the Rájah of Batnól], and, as the rains had then set in and the army was wearied with several months of continuous marching, Sultán Ahmad was on the point of returning to Ahmadábád, when he received intelligence of the confederation mentioned in the text. This narrative explains the allusion in the text to the march against Nandarbár and Sultánpúr, of which no previous mention had been made.

Gujarát. But, said they, "We are the subjects of your Majesty; we rule in this quiet place under favour of your auspices. Far be it from us to join with your enemies!" This letter was carried by camel-express to the Sultán at Sultánpúr, and at the same time he received intelligence that Sultán Hoshang had marched from the town of Mákréj, and halted at Mórásah.

The Sultán started from Nandarbár, although it was the rainy season, towards the Gujarát country. Notwithstanding the violent rain and the heavy mud in the roads, he arrived at Mórásah, and pitched his camp opposite to that of Sultán Hoshang, on the seventh day, which was the 16th Rajab, A.H. 819. Sultán Hoshang said to the above-mentioned Rájahs, "You told me that you would take me to Gujarát before Sultán Ahmad could hear the news, but now he is here, only five *kós* off, and you gave me no warning of his coming. This is a plain proof that you are really hostile, and not friendly. I have no longer any trust in your statements." Sultán Hoshang fled by night, and the Rájahs scattered in all directions, and repented of what they had done. Sultán Ahmad stayed for some days at Mórásah.

It was now reported that, in consequence of the disturbance created by Sultán Hoshang, the *zamíndárs* of Sórath had refused to pay their revenue, and had broken out in revolt. At the same time news arrived that Nasír, son of Rájah Malik, ruler of Asír, in confederation with Ghazni Khán, son of Sultán Hoshang, had recommenced hostilities. By a stratagem of Iftikhár-ul-Mulk, son of Rájah Malik, they obtained possession of the fort of Thálnír.* Supported by the *zamín-*

* The relation given in the text is somewhat confused, and is stated with more clearness and apparent probability by Firishtah. Thálnír had been assigned to Iftikhár-ul-Mulk (who was Nasír Khán's younger brother), by their father, Malik Rájah, the first of the Farúkí kings of Khándésh, and with it certain territories, as his inheritance. Nasír Khán, who seems to have been restless, ambitious, and unscrupulous, seized the fort *from* Iftikhár-ul-Mulk, instead of gaining it by a stratagem of his. Firishtah says it was taken by force, but the "Tab. Akbarí" says by stratagem; any way, he got it, and

dárs of the districts of Nádót, they proceeded towards Sultánpúr and Nandarbár, and revived the former sedition.* On the new moon of Zí Hijj, they killed Malik Ahmad Sharf, Court Chamberlain, in the fort of Sultánpúr, and were pressing on their attack; nor was it then known what they had accomplished. Sultán Ahmad detached Malik Mahmúd Bargí and Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, with an adequate force, to reduce the rebels of Sórath, and detached Malik Mahmúd, entitled Khán 'A'zim, with a large number of troops, against Nasír Khán.† When Malik Mahmúd had ravaged the country of Nádót and approached Sultánpúr, Ghazní Khán fled towards Málwah, and Nasír to the fort of Thálnír. Mahmúd pursued and besieged Nasír in the fort of Thálnír. He so pressed the siege that in a short time Nasír was compelled to capitulate. Malik Mahmúd wrote a report to the Sultán, and asked forgiveness for Nasír. The Sultán complied, gave Nasír the title of Khán, and so secured his adhesion.

Sultán Ahmad, shortly after, led an army towards Málwah to punish the offence, above described, of which Sultán Hoshang had been guilty. At that time, Púnjá, son of Ran Mal Rájah of I'dar, Tirbang Dás Rájah of Chámpánír, the Rájah of Nádót, and others, who had joined Sultán Hoshang at the time of his inroad, now sent their envoys to make their submission to Sultán Ahmad, and to ask for his forgive-

was assisted in doing so by Ghazní Khán, who was his wife's nephew; Sultán Hoshang being his brother-in-law, as he had married the daughter of Diláwar Khán. Whether their object at first was merely to seize Thálnír, and the attack on Sultánpúr an after-thought, or whether this was designed from the beginning, the fact was that the two confederates did renew their attempt on these provinces, and, aided by the Rájah of Nádót ("Tab. Akbarí"), for a time carried all before them. On the whole it seems likely that the attack by Sultán Hoshang, the rising in Sórath, and the second adventure of Nasír Khán in Sultánpúr, were concerted movements, and intended to be simultaneous; and, if it had not been for Sultán Ahmad's prompt march to meet Sultán Hoshang, and the precipitate flight of that irresolute and treacherous prince, Sultán Ahmad would have had a very serious task on his hands.

* "Revived the former sedition." Literally, "Watered the plant of sedition."

† This passage is omitted in some of the MSS., but it is necessary to the story.

ness.* The Sultán, from motives of policy, forgave them. Leaving Malik Zíá-ud-dín, entitled Nizám-ul-Mulk, *wazír*, at the capital, Sultán Ahmad marched, by regular marches, against Málwah. When he reached the confines of the territory of Ujain, on the banks of the Káliádah, he came in face of Sultán Hoshang, who had surrounded his army with a deep ditch and strong abattis, and was ready for battle.

The story runs that Sultán Ahmad, on the day of battle, armed himself and mounted his horse. On his way he came to the tent of Malik Farid, son of 'Imád-ul-Mulk. He drew rein, and sent a message to him, saying that he would confer upon him the title of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, which his father had left vacant, and desiring him to come out and put on the robe of honour. Malik Farid was engaged in anointing himself, that is, he was rubbing his body with oil. They told the Sultán what he was doing, and begged for a few moments' delay; but the Sultán went on to the field of battle, and the forces on both sides were drawn up in array. Malik Farid, according to habit, after anointing himself with oil, mounted his horse, and came to the side of a river, where there was a difficult ford. Men were standing about, and he called out, "Can anybody show the road to the Sultán?" as he could find no way to where the Sultán was. A person told him that he knew a way over, but that it led to the rear of Sultán Hoshang's army. Farid exclaimed, "What better could be desired?" Malik Farid pressed forward under the guidance of this man, and just when both armies closed with each other, and were engaged along the whole line, Malik Farid, as it were from the invisible or from the realms above, appeared in the rear of Sultán Hoshang's centre, and at once shouting "Allah, Allah!" charged like a tiger or a leopard. Just at that time Sultán Hoshang's advanced force was repulsed, and, although

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí," the Rájah of Mandal did not submit with the rest of the Rájahs, and Nizám-ul-Mulk had orders to punish him in Sultán Ahmad's absence.

he fought bravely, he was overpowered,* and suffered a signal defeat. Sultán Ahmad was victorious and triumphant. All the treasure and equipage and baggage fell into the hands of his army, and Sultán Hoshang took refuge in the fort of Mandú. Sultán Ahmad pursued him to the gates of the fortress. He then fell back, and, encamping in the neighbourhood of Mandú, he sent out forces to ravage the country of Málwah. After a while he set out for his capital, and entered it in triumph.

At the beginning of the month of Zí-l-ka'da, A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418), Sultán Ahmad started to settle accounts with Tirbang Dás Rájah of Chámpánír, but that year he did not press the siege with determination,† because his heart was really intent upon the reduction of Mandú. He plundered and destroyed some places in the district, but he accepted a suitable peace-offering. On the 19th Safar, Sultán Ahmad marched towards Sónkherah Bahádarpúr. The conquest of Sónkherah has been sung in verse by the poet Halwí.‡ . . . After ravaging the country of Sónkherah, on the 22nd Safar 822

* The "Tab. Akbarí" represents the matter somewhat otherwise. It says that an elephant from the Gujarát army charged that of Málwah and threw it into confusion, and then the Gujarát cavalry charged. Ghazní Khán, Sultán Hoshang's son, confronted it and drove it back, by shooting arrows into its forehead, then rallied his troops and charged the Gujarát line so vigorously that it was beginning to give way when Malik Faríd charged, as described, in the rear of the Málwah army. Firishtah says the elephant broke the enemy's line, and, their cavalry charging, Ghazní Khán was wounded, and fell back. All accounts, however, agree that it was Malik Faríd's charge which decided the day, and both do justice to the personal gallantry of Sultán Hoshang, who, whatever his faults may have been, does not seem to have been deficient in valour, as the "Tab. Akbarí" expressly says, though adding that he was no general. The "Tab. Akbarí" states that Ahmad Sháh, before retiring, cut down all the trees near his camp (whether fruit trees or others) to punish Sultán Hoshang.

† The words in the text are somewhat dubious, and might mean that the Sultán did not actually besiege Chámpánír, but, according to the "Tab. Akbarí," he at least very strictly invested it till the Rájah submitted.

‡ The details given in this extract are of no importance; no mention of any fighting is made; the expedition seems to have been undertaken solely to plunder and destroy the idol temples of Sónkherah, and to have been commenced without any provocation, and to have been completed without resistance. The original will be dealt with in Vol. II. under the head of the "Táríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí," with the other extracts from the same work found in the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí."

(A.D. 1419) he laid the foundation of a fort at Sónkherah; he also built a mosque for the rites of the Mahomedan religion, and appointed *kázís* and preachers to maintain its laws and doctrines. In the same year he founded a fort at the village of Mákní, a dependency of Sónkherah; and having left a garrison to maintain order in that neighbourhood, he led his army towards Mandú.*

When Sultán Ahmad arrived at Dhár he was met by envoys from Sultán Hoshang, two confidential counsellors of that sovereign, whose names were Mauláná Músa and 'Alí Jámdár (*i.e.* "Treasurer"). They were admitted to an audience, and sued for peace, and made apologies in full detail for all Sultán Hoshang's past offences. The trusted ministers and wisest nobles of Sultán Ahmad strongly supported their plea for peace. He yielded to their solicitations, and, foregoing all intentions of revenge, withdrew from the place. On his camp passing through the territory of Chámpánír, he directed his soldiers to lay it utterly waste. From thence he went to Ahmadábád, where he arrived in the month of Rabí'-ul-ákhir.

In the year H. 823 (A.D. 1420) he went forth to establish rule and order in his territories. Wherever there was turbulence he repressed it. He threw down the idol temples and built *masjids* in their stead, and founded forts and established military posts. First he built a fort at the village of Janúr, in the *pargana* of Bárá Sanwál. After that, he built the town of Dhámód in the hills, and he erected a fort there. He repaired the fort of Káreth, which was founded in the time of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín by Alp Khán Sanjar in H. 704 (A.D. 1304), but had fallen into decay, and he gave it the name of Sultánábád. After that, he returned to Ahmadábád.

In the year H. 824 (A.D. 1421) he led his army from Ahmadábád towards Chámpánír, from thence to Sónkherah,† and

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that on his way to Mandú he punished "the infidels of the hills of Kántúrá" by laying waste their territories.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," Sultán Ahmad built another *jama' masjid* at Sónkherah on this occasion.

onwards to Chóli Mahésar, which belongs to Mandú.* In the month of Rabí'-ul-awal, H. 825 (A.D. 1422), he encamped at the town of Mahésar, and invested the fort. At that time Sultán Hoshang had gone to Jájnagar elephant-hunting, and the people of the fort, having no hope of relief, surrendered the keys to Sultán Ahmad, who placed a trusty garrison in the place.†

On the 12th Rabí'-ul-ákhir he sat down before Mandú, and, having invested the fort, he sent out detachments to get possession of the territories of Málwah. He maintained the siege of Mandú for one month and eighteen days, during which continual fighting went on. The rainy season then came on, and he repaired to Ujain, which is in the very centre of the dominions of Mandú.‡ There he halted, and secured possession

* According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Ahmad Sháh made an expedition in 822 A.H. against Jhálawár, but the Rájah purchased peace by the payment of a heavy tribute.

† According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Sultán Ahmad began this year with an attack on the Rájah of Jhálawár, whom he besieged in his capital. The Rájah submitted, and paid a heavy tribute to secure himself from molestation. The reason of Sultán Ahmad's attack upon Mandú does not seem very clear. It does not seem much in accordance with Ahmad Sháh's general conduct that he should have been induced merely by the absence of Hoshang, with whom he was at peace, to attack a Mahomedan country. Of course, for an attack on an infidel country no special justification would have been necessary. The "Tab. Akbarí" says, and Firishtah quotes the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" as representing [the passage is not to be found in the only copy of the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" available for this work] that the facts as stated to Sultán Ahmad were, that Hoshang had disappeared, that no one knew what had become of him, and *that his nobles had divided his kingdom among themselves*; this last passage may, perhaps, explain Sultán Ahmad's motives, for certainly the account of Hoshang's sudden disappearance, while proceeding in disguise to Jájnagar, might well lead to a belief that he had, by some means, come to an untimely end, and Sultán Ahmad might well consider himself as much entitled to the throne thus left vacant as the nobles of his court were. The particulars of Hoshang's romantic excursion to Jájnagar are given in full detail, by both the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and the "Tab. Akbarí," as well as by Firishtah, and there seems no reason to doubt their general correctness.

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," while he was at Ujain, Sultán Ahmad parcelled out the districts of Ujain among his own officers. The names of some of these, and of the districts assigned to them, are given in the "Tab. Akbarí," which says that arrangements were made to collect the autumn (*kharif*) harvest. It seems, also, that it was the dispersion of his troops on this duty which made him unable to prevent the entry of Hoshang into Mandú. According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," another reason for deferring the siege of Mandú was a deficiency in the apparatus for a siege, which Sultán Ahmad found would be necessary, and which arrived from Gujarát just as Sultán Hoshang came back. The "Tab. Akbarí" confirms this.

of the greater part of Málwah. At the end of the rainy season he again laid siege to Mandú. In the meantime Sultán Hoshang, having obtained some fine elephants at Jájnagar, returned by a circuitous route, and got into the fort of Mandú through the Tárápúr gate. He exerted himself strenuously in strengthening it; and Sultán Ahmad, feeling that he was then unable to reduce the place, marched to Sárangpúr, hoping to draw Hoshang out of his fortress, or, failing this, to take possession of his territories, so as to compel him to come out of the fort.

Ahmad invested Sárangpúr at his leisure,* and ambassadors then came to .him on a mission from Hoshang, concealing enmity under the cloak of amity. They presented their master's greetings, and expressed his surprise that a religious, God-fearing monarch should, for one offence committed by the Sultán, thus personally attack and lay waste a country of Islám, and should listen to no explanation and apology. They promised on behalf of Sultán Hoshang that he would henceforth act loyally and submissively, and expressed his hopes that his offence would be forgiven, that Sultán Ahmad would withdraw to his own country, and abandon all intentions of vengeance. Sultán Ahmad was himself disposed to mercy rather than to revenge. His ministers and attendants also added their intercession, so he graciously granted peace and issued orders for a return towards his own country.

On the 12th of the month of Muharram, A.H. 826 (26th of December 1422), just when Sultán Ahmad had decided upon

* According to both the "Tab. Akbarí" and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Sultán Hoshang, by a rapid march, got into Sárangpúr before the Gujarát army arrived there. But before leaving Mandú, he sent the embassy to Sultán Ahmad to put him off his guard. According to the latter work, these men reached Sultán Ahmad before he came to Sárangpúr, and, as Firishtah quotes the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," their instructions were to amuse him till Sárangpúr was put in a state of defence. This passage is not, however, in the copy of the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" used for this work. But Sultán Ahmad, having agreed to peace, sent the ambassadors back to Hoshang, and the same night encamped in fancied security outside Sárangpúr. This account is at least probable, for the text says that after the battle Sultán Hoshang escaped to Sárangpúr, and the scene of the battle certainly seems to have been there, or close by.

peace, Sultán Hoshang treacherously made a night attack upon him when he was thrown off his guard against all deceit and perfidy. Suddenly a great outcry arose in camp, and the silence of the night was disturbed by a tumult. Some thought the Day of Judgment had come, others thought a furious elephant had broken loose. At last it became known that it was the noise of a night attack by the enemy. Malik Munír awoke Sultán Ahmad, who armed himself and came out of his tent. There were two horses there, belonging to the horsemen on duty. The Sultán mounted one, and his equerry,* Malik Jaunán, mounted the other, and they rode out to the verge of the camp. The forces of Sultán Hoshang fell first upon Sámant† Rájpút, Grásiah of the district of Dandáh, who held the advanced post, and he, with five hundred Rájpúts, was killed. The enemy pressed onwards, and many of Sultán Ahmad's men were slain. The Sultán said to Malik Jaunán, "Can you find out what Farid Sultání and Malik Mukarrab‡ are doing, and bring them to me?"

Jaunán galloped off into the camp, and found that these two *amírs*, with their forces armed and ready, were proceeding from their own tents towards the Sultán's pavilion. He asked them where they were going, and told them the Sultán had sent for them. They replied, "The enemy is advancing, let us first fall upon him." Malik Jaunán told them that the Sultán was standing alone at the margin of the camp and expecting to be joined by them, and that they ought to ask him and act according to his orders. These two veterans brought nearly a thousand armed and mounted men to the support of the Sultán. He grossly abused them,§ saying that he had allowed

* رکابدار.

† These names are variously given—Sámamt, Sámant, Sámat, and Dandáh-Rékht, as well as Dandáh.

‡ Malik Mukarrab is said, by the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," to have brought up the siege material from Gujarát to Mandú, and to have joined the Sultán there. On his arrival he had been told off to attack the Jodhpúr gate, but the news of Hoshang's return frustrated Sultán Ahmad's designs.

§ Literally, "gave them filthy abuse," دشنامی غلیظ داد.

himself to be off his guard depending on their watchfulness, but they had been more off their guard even than himself. They replied that it had been so ordained, and craved permission to attack the traitor and give him the recompense of his perfidy, which, God willing, they hoped to do. The Sultán directed them to wait patiently for a while, as the morning was near and the enemy would then be caught plundering.

Sultán Ahmad then again despatched Malik Jaunán to learn what he could of the enemy. He galloped off, and found that Sultán Hoshang, with a few men, was standing in front of Sultán Ahmad's pavilion, and that they were bringing out the horses of the royal guard and the fighting elephants for Hoshang's inspection. The bulk of the soldiers were busy plundering. Jaunán returned and reported the state of affairs. Just then the day dawned, and Sultán Ahmad cried, "Now, my brave fellows, now is the time to play the man!" With a thousand men, each of whom was as brave as a lion, he advanced, and when Sháh Hoshang's army came in sight they brandished their swords and charged, shouting "Allah! Allah!" Each of the two kings with his two-handed sword fought for his honour and his dignity with the greatest fury imaginable, till both were wounded.* When it grew light the eyes of the elephant-drivers of Ahmad Sháh fell upon their sovereign; they formed line with their elephants and charged the enemy. Hoshang, unable to withstand them, took to flight, and the victory remained with Sultán Ahmad. The soldiers of Hoshang abandoned their spoil and were glad to escape with their lives.† From every side Sultán Ahmad's troops collected and congratulated him, and the Sultán returned thanks to Almighty God. Sultán Hoshang, depressed

* The "Tab. Akbarí" confirms the story that the Sultáns mutually wounded each other.

† "Seven fine elephants, brought from Jájnagar, also fell into his hands." —"Tab. Akbarí."

and dejected, with a few disordered troops, took shelter in the fort of Sárangpúr.

On the 24th Rabí'-ul-ákhir Sultán Ahmad turned towards his capital, but Hoshang rallied his forces and again made ready for battle. Sultán Ahmad halted till the enemy came up, and another battle was fought.* It was obstinately contested, but Hoshang was again defeated. They say that four thousand of his men were slain upon the battle-field.† The grand elephants which he had brought from Jájnagar fell into the hands of the Sultán, who returned triumphant towards his capital. On the 4th Jumád-ul-ákhir A.H. 826 (A.D. 1423), he reached Ahmadábád and rested there with great satisfaction and pleasure. The people of the city were loud in their congratulations and praises. It is said that two months before this happened Sultán Ahmad, writing from Sárangpúr, said to Shékh Ahmad, "From the present appearance of affairs it seems likely that I may be detained some time longer in these parts." The Shékh wrote in reply that the Sultán would return to his capital victorious and glorious in the year eight hundred and twenty-six, and so it proved. . . .

For three years‡ after this the Sultán gave his army rest, and every man lived in ease and comfort. In the year H. 829§

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that the engagement was preceded by an attack on a foraging party of Sultán Ahmad's, commanded by Iftikhár-ul-Mulk and Safdar Khán, but the Gujarátís came off victorious.

† The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says that four thousand nine hundred of Hoshang's men fell in this battle and in the subsequent pursuit.

‡ "In consequence of the hardships endured by his army in this campaign, he rested for three years."—"Táríkh-i-Alfí," cited by Firishtah.

§ The "Tab. Akbarí" says that the reason of this campaign was, that while the campaign against Sultán Hoshang was proceeding, Púnjá, the Rájah of I'dar, was detected in a hostile and secret correspondence with Sultán Hoshang. Púnjá made offers of submission, but Sultán Ahmad, as he had twice before broken his engagements, declined to treat with him. I'dar was plundered, and Púnjá fled to the hills of Bíjanagar. The attack on the foragers is given in the "Tab. Akbarí" as an incident of a further campaign against Púnjá. That Prince again made offer of submission, but as the Sultán had decided on occupying the country, he would not listen to any negociations. In fact, he seems to have built Ahmadnagar as an outpost to overawe I'dar, and only delayed his second attack till the fortifications of that place were complete. Briggs, in a note to the parallel passage in Firishtah, would correct the name of the town to Sábarmatí, but Ahmadnagar on the Hátmatí exists to this day.

he marched against I'dar, drove the Rájah into the hilly country, and laid waste his territory. In A.H. 830 (A.D. 1427) he founded the city of Ahmad-nagar upon the bank of the Hátmatí on the confines of Gujarát, ten *kós* from I'dar, and built a strong stone wall round it. He proposed to make the place his own head-quarters.

In A.H. 831 (A.D. 1428) some troops went out to collect forage, when Púnjá, Rájah of I'dar, came out of an ambush and attacked the foragers. The commander of the foraging party suffered defeat, and Púnjá captured and drove off before him an elephant which had accompanied the party. In the end the troops who had been scattered rallied, and pursued Púnjá. They came to a defile, on one side of which was a lofty precipice and on the other a ravine of vast depth. Between the two ran a narrow path which one horseman only at a time could traverse, and that with difficulty. Púnjá entered this narrow pass, and the royal forces pursued him. The elephant-driver turning his animal, drove it at Púnjá,* whose horse shied, and, springing aside, fell into the abyss. There Púnjá gave up his soul to the lord of hell. The soldiers led back the recaptured elephant, but no one knew what had happened to Púnjá. The next day a wood-cutter cut off his head and brought it to the Sultán, who was astonished and would not believe that it was Púnjá's head. He inquired if anyone could identify Púnjá. One of the royal soldiers who had been in the service of Púnjá said that he knew him, and when he saw the head, exclaimed, "Yes! this is the head of Ráo Jiú." The attendants of the court reviled the man because he had mentioned the name of the infidel in such respectful terms; but the Sultán reproved them, saying that the man had only been faithful to his salt.†

* According to the account in the "Tab. Akbarí," Púnjá was following the elephant, and urging him on with the point of his spear.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" here again furnishes details which are wanting in the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," and which run as follows:—"On the day after (after that on which Púnjá's head was brought in), Sultán Ahmad proceeded

For two years the Sultán remained in his capital, occupied in bringing his own kingdom into order, and did not concern himself with other countries. He settled the arrangements of his army and for the administration of his territories, under the advice of ministers of integrity and nobles of wisdom and experience, after the following manner. The remuneration of his soldiery was given half by means of a *jágír* and half in ready-money from the Treasury. The reason of this measure was that it was believed that if the whole amount were paid in cash, it would be of no benefit (*i.e.* the men would spend it recklessly), and the men would be found unprepared with their equipments, and would take no interest in the defence of their country. Whereas if half the remuneration were given by a *jágír*,* the men would get fodder and wood, milk, curds, and goats from their own lands, and would be in comfort. They would engage in agriculture and build themselves houses. They would, by these means, be themselves advantaged, and would also be interested heart and soul in the protection of the country. The money moiety was regularly paid month by month without excuse or delay, and the men were required to

towards I'dar, and sent out detachments to ravage the villages of I'dar and Bíjanagar. Bír Ráí (some MSS. have Har, *quâ* Hari Ráo), the son of Púnjá, through the mediation of Khán Jahán Sultání, sought forgiveness and promised to pay an annual tribute of three *lakhs* of silver tankahs. The Sultán graciously pardoned him, and accepted him as one of his adherents. Having given to Malik Hasan the title of Safdar-ul-Mulk, he left him, with a strong force, in charge of Ahmadnagar. He then laid waste the country of Gílwárah and returned to Ahmadábád, where he made the people happy by his bounty and condescension. A little while after the Sultán sent Malik Mukarrab with a party of the royal retainers to Bír Ráí, the Rájah of I'dar, with an imprest for the payment of their allowances. When they arrived, Bír Ráí procrastinated and evaded payment. It so happened that he heard that the Sultán had moved out of Ahmadábád, and was getting ready his army. This news so alarmed Bír Ráí, that he fled and went into hiding. Sultán Ahmad, on being informed of the Ráí's behaviour, left Ahmadnagar on the 1th Safar 832 A.H. (14th Nov. 1428 A.D.), and, marching rapidly, reached I'dar on the 6th (the distance is described as ten *kós*, say twenty miles). After returning thanks to God, he laid the foundation of a *masjid* there, and, leaving a garrison in the place, returned to Ahmadábád."

* It is not necessary to suppose that the men always had lands actually assigned to each. They may often have received (probably actually did) assignments of the revenues of lands held by others. Still even *jágírdárs* always received, by custom, such articles as those enumerated in the text as perquisites, over and above the bare money revenue.

attend at the place of payment to receive it. Thus, when they were called out on service, they would not be in want of means whether the campaign was in a place near at hand or in a distant one. And when the soldier had to go a long distance from home, or his supplies could not be forwarded to him by reason of the difficulties of the road, the money portion of his allowances was, in such cases, paid to him from the royal treasury (*sc.* at head-quarters with the army), so that the man might not either be destitute of necessaries during the campaign, or get into debt. The soldier also felt at his ease regarding his family, which could draw its support during his absence from his *jágír*.

As regarded financial officers, it was made a rule that there was to be one a dependant of the Sultán, together with one who was a man of good family; for if both were men of good family they would probably become intimate, would form a league with each other, and give themselves up to peculation. If both were dependants of the Sultán, the case would be worse still.* The proverb says :—

> Creatures in their own class their own friends find;
> Pigeons to pigeons, hawks to hawks, are kind.

The collectors of the *parganahs* also were to be appointed upon the same principle. This system continued in operation until the end of the reign of Sultán Muzaffar, son of Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha. In the reign of Sultán Bahádar, when there was a very large army, competent ministers inquired into the resources of the country. Some districts had increased [in value] tenfold, others nine, eight, or sevenfold, and nowhere was the increase less than double the original value. After that, changes and alterations found their way in. Rule

* The meaning of this passage seems to be that two men were to have joint charge of each office, and, in order that they might act as checks upon each other, they were to be selected from different classes: one was to be usually taken from the personal followers of the Sultán (often probably from the Khánahzádí); the other from the local nobility. The couplet quoted is a well-known Persian saying.

and system were set aside. From that time forward, confusion sprang up in the country, and factions raised their heads, as will be set out hereafter.

In the year H. 835 (A.D. 1432), Fíróz Bahmaní, King of the countries of the Dakhin, had led an army against the infidels of Bíjanagar, and had been defeated. Between him and Sultán Ahmad there was a friendly and intimate alliance, so the latter sent a large army to assist him. When this army reached the fort of Thálnír (?), Sultán Fíróz died, and his son* Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní succeeded him. He transmitted some valuable presents to Sultán Ahmad, and sent back his army.

From the year 836 to 845 (A.D. 1432 to 1441) every year Sultán Ahmad sent forth an army, sometimes against the Rájah of I'dar, sometimes to call Nasír Khán, son of Rájah ruler of A'sír, to account, sometimes to chastise Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní, and sometimes to plunder the country of Mewár. Occasionally he led his army himself, and victory always attended him. In all his reign he never suffered a defeat, and the armies of Gujarát invariably prevailed over those of Mandú, the Dakhin, A'sír, the infidels of Mewár, and surrounding countries.

[*The "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," for some reason, gives only the above brief summary of the latter years of Sultán Ahmad's reign. The following extracts will supply the deficiency.*]

The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" says that—In the year 833 (A.D. 1430), Kánhá, Rájah of Jhálawár, seeing how Sultán Ahmad had nearly made an end with I'dar, and apprehending that he would next deal with other *zamíndárs*, thought it prudent

* This is an error. Ahmad Sháh (Walí) Bahmaní was brother, not son, of Fíróz Sháh, whose throne he usurped, supplanting Fíróz's son and heir. As Ahmad Sháh of Gujarát was personally attached to the deceased king, Ahmad Sháh Walí Bahmaní probably did not feel at all strengthened by the presence of the Gujarát troops, and so politely dismissed them. The chronology of the text is, moreover, erroneous here by ten years. Firishtah gives the date of Fíróz Sháh's death and Ahmad's accession as 825 A.H., and this date is verified by coins (published by the Hon. Mr. Gibbs in the "Numismatic Chronicle," vol. i. (1881), 3rd series, pp. 112-14) of Fíróz Sháh dated 825, and of Ahmad Sháh dated 826, and struck at Ahsanábád (Kulbargah).

to seek safety in flight. The army which had been sent for his chastisement pursued him. He proceeded to A'sír and Burhánpúr. Nasír Khán of A'sír accepted from the Rái a present of two worn-out elephants, and forgetting what was due to the Sultán, admitted the Rái into his territory. After a short stay, Kánhá went to Kulbargah, and obtained from Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní a force to assist him. With this he plundered and laid waste a few of the villages of Nandarbár. When this news reached him, Sultán Ahmad of Gujarát sent his son, Muhamad Khán, attended by several great nobles, such as Sáíd Abu-l-Khán, Sáíd Kásim, son of Sáíd 'A'lam, Malik Mukarrab, Ahmad Aiáz, and Malik Iftikhár-ul-Mulk, to punish these proceedings. He fought an action with the Dakhinís, in which they were defeated; a great many were killed or taken prisoners, and those who escaped fled to Daulatábád.*

The Bahmaní Sultán then sent his eldest son, 'Alá-ud-dín, and a younger son Khán-Jahán, to give battle to Prince Muhamad. The general direction of the army was given to Kadar Khán, one of the great nobles of the Dakhiní kingdom. Under the advice of Kádar Khán, Prince 'Alá-ud-dín marched to Daulatábád, where Nasír Khán of A'sír and Burhánpúr, and Kánhá Rájah of Jhálawár, joined his army and besought his protection. Prince Muhamad of Gujarát also advanced to Daulatábád. Several skirmishes ensued between the two armies. Muhamad Khán offered battle, and both armies eagerly engaged. In the midst of the fight Malik Mukarrab Ahmad Aiáz and Kádar Khán, both of them generals, engaged each other, and Kádar Khán was unhorsed. Malik Iftikhár-

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says this battle was fought at the Manik-bruj pass, and the second one in the immediate vicinity of Daulatábád. Firishtah says the second battle was fought at Manik-bruj. The context seems to show that the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" is right. There were, according to that authority, one hundred elephants with the second Gujarát army, but it puts these events a year earlier, and calls Kánhá "Kánthá Sarsál" (Satarsal?); but as the narrative is continued by an account of the invasion of Mahaím by Malik-ut-Tujjár, it is probable that the narrative covers some time, as both from the text and Firishtah this latter occurrence seems to have taken place in 834 A.H.

ul-Mulk captured two* large elephants. Prince 'Alá-ud-dín fled for refuge to the fortress of Daulatábád, and Nasír Khán to the mountains of Kaland in the territories of A'sír. The Prince of Gujarát, when he perceived the reduction of Daulatábád to be impracticable, laid waste part of the territories of A'sír and Burhánpúr, and took up his quarters at Nandarbár, from whence he sent a despatch with the news to Sultán Ahmad, who, in reply, directed him to remain there for a while and settle the country, so as to put matters on a permanent footing.

Year 834 (A.D. 1431). A person named Kutb, who held the island of Maháím† (Bombay), and several other oppressed persons, complained to Sultán Ahmad that Malik Hasan,‡ called Malik-ut-Tujjár, one of the great nobles of Ahmad Sháh Bahmaní, had come from the Dakhin, and had taken forcible possession of the island and of the neighbouring districts, thus attacking a Musulmán territory, and making Musulmáns prisoners. Sultán Ahmad of Gujarát despatched his son Zafar Khán to put down Malik-ut-Tujjár, and many leading nobles

* Some MSS. say only one elephant.

† Firishtah is more explicit: "Who held the island of Maháím on the part of the Gujarátís." His version is that Kutb died, and the Bahmaní seized the opportunity so presented. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" calls him "Rái Kutb, *hákim* of Maháím"; and he was, doubtless, the Rái of Maháím whose daughter Prince Fateh Khán is said, in the sequel, to have married. He was, probably, one of the petty local princes, former rulers of Maháím, who had embraced Muhamadanism, and had been allowed by the Gujarát kings to retain a modified independence under them. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" also says that his death was the occasion of Malik-ut-Tujjár's attack. Very probably he had left no direct male heir, and in marrying the Rái's daughter to his own son, Sultán Ahmad consolidated the Gujarát claim on Maháím.

‡ "Malik Hasan." The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" calls him "Hasan Arab." This was "Khalf Hasan," a merchant of Basrah, who, when Ahmad Walí fled for his life from Kulbargah, in the reign of Fíróz Sháh Bahmaní, was the first adherent who joined him. Ahmad Walí, indeed, owed his success and his throne in a great measure to the active assistance and to the counsels of Khalf Hasan, and when he became King he conferred on Khalf Hasan, with reference to his original calling, the title of "Malik-ut-Tujjár," the "Lord of the Merchants." The title seems to have continued as one of those attached to the Bahmaní court even after the death of its first holder. He was not improbably an Arab by birth, as the expression in the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" implies. The Bahmaní histories admit, while endeavouring to extenuate, the defeat of their army on this occasion. Firishtah says that Malik-ut-Tujjár's brother was killed.

of experience were sent with him. The Sultán also wrote to Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, *kótwal* of Díp (Díú) to prepare the ships belonging to his ports, and to co-operate with Prince Zafar Khán. Mukhlis-ul-Mulk collected seven hundred ships, small and great, from the towns of Pattan, Díú, the port of Ghógah, and the district of Kambháiat, and having fitted them out, he went to the environs of Maháím to serve with Prince Zafar Khán. The *amírs* agreed that the ships should go to Thánah, and that they should go by land.

When Zafar Khán approached Thánah, he sent forward Malik Iftikhár-ul-Mulk and Malik Suhráb Sultání to invest it. The ships also arrived, filled with armed men, and closed the entrance [from the sea]. When the siege was commenced, the commander of Thánah made a vigorous sally, but was driven back, and as he could not cope with the forces of Gujarát, he fled, and the Prince, by the advice of his nobles, leaving a considerable force in that vicinity, himself advanced against Maháím. Malik-ut-Tujjár had felled large trees and made a barricade on the shore of Maháím. When the troops of Sultán Ahmad advanced, he sallied out from behind the barricade. The contest was fiercely maintained on both sides during the whole day, but in the end Malik-ut-Tujjár fled within the island of Maháím. As the ships now arrived, the Gujarátís attacked it both by sea and land.

Malik-ut-Tujjár wrote to the Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní asking for succour; Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní sent ten thousand horse and sixty odd elephants from Daulatábád, under the command of his two sons, and he sent Khán-Jahán, his *wazír*, to guide and advise the princes. When this army drew near, Malik-ut-Tujjár, having satisfied himself as to the security of the island and the stockade, went out to wait upon the two princes. After full discussion, it was resolved that the first effort should be made to clear the Thánah district, and they accordingly moved upon Thánah. The prince Zafar Khán of Gujarát moved to the support of his men in Thánah, and when the

two armies met they fought from early morning till sunset, but in the end the Dakhinís were defeated. Malik-ut-Tujjár retired to the village of Jálnah.* His men fled for their lives from Maháím, and Zafar Khán entered and victoriously took possession. Some of the agents of Malik-ut-Tujjár fled by sea, but ships were sent in pursuit and captured them. Several ships were loaded with stuffs and clothes and precious stones, and sent as offerings to Sultán Ahmad. All the country of Maháím was occupied and divided among the *amírs* and officers.

This defeat greatly vexed Ahmad Sháh Bahmaní, and in revenge he attacked the country of Baglánah, near to Súrat.† Prince Muhamad Khán, who was in the vicinity of Nandarbár and Sultánpúr, wrote to his father, saying that he had now been detached for four years and some months, that many of his officers, great and small, in consequence of the lapse of time and the desertion of their men, had returned to their homes, and that he had not a sufficient force at his disposal, that Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní had attacked Baglánah and was threatening the country he held.

On receipt of this letter, the Sultán of Gujarát postponed attacking Chámpánír,‡ and proceeded to Nádót. He ravaged that country, and then went on to Nandarbár, and met Prince Muhamad Khán and his nobles, each of whom was honoured with favours according to his rank and position. At this place, and in the same year, 835, spies reported that the Bahmaní king, on hearing of the Sultán's approach, had withdrawn to his capital at Kulbargah, leaving an army on the frontier of his territories. Rejoiced at this intelligence, the Sultán of Gujarát returned towards Ahmadábád by regular marches.

When Ahmad had crossed the Táptí, news was brought that the Bahmaní king had laid siege to the fort of Tamból, which Malik Sa'ádat Sultán was vigorously defending. The

* Firishtah, "Chaknah."

† Firishtah says a hill fort in Kándésh.

‡ According to Firishtah, he had actually marched against Chámpánír in person.

King of Gujarát instantly turned back and marched towards Tamból. As soon as Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní was made acquainted with this news, he engaged, by robes of honour and many presents, a party of *páiks*, and told them that succours for the garrison were near at hand, and that the King of Gujarát was approaching. Immediate action was therefore necessary, and, if they could effect his object that night, he would give them untold rewards. Early in the night the *páiks* went to the glacis of the fort, and, proceeding quietly under cover of the rocks to the wall, climbed inside, and were about to throw open the gate, when Malik Sa'ádat came up and attacked the assailants. Many of them were slain, and the rest, in despair, threw themselves down from the walls and perished. The garrison then opened the gate and made a sortie, when they killed and wounded many who were asleep in the trenches.

Sultán Ahmad of Gujarát now drew near, and the Bahmaní king, drawing off from the fort, went to meet him. He summoned his nobles and chief officers, and thus addressed them: "The army of Gujarát has now on several occasions overthrown that of the Dakhin, and has taken possession of Maháím. If I now show any hesitation or weakness, the kingdom of the Dakhin will pass out of my hands." He then marshalled his troops and prepared for battle. Sultán Ahmad also advanced with his forces in battle array, and a desperate contest ensued. When the action began, Dáúd Khán, one of the chief Dakhiní nobles, having sought a personal combat, was made prisoner by 'Azd-ul-Mulk. Both sides were intermingled in the fight, and both displayed great gallantry. When the day closed the battle ceased, and both sides sounded the retreat, and both withdrew to their first positions. As the Dakhiní troops had suffered severely, Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní determined to retreat. Next day the King of Gujarát entered Tamból. He commended Malik Sa'ádat Sultán, and, leaving a party of troops to strengthen him, he proceeded to Thálnír.

He ordered the rebuilding of the fort, and after ravaging the country round, he left Malik Táj-ul-Mulk, to whom he gave the title of Mu'ín-ul-Mulk, in charge, and proceeded by way of Sultánpúr and Nandarbár to Ahmadábád.* Shortly afterwards the daughter of the Rái of Maháím was given in marriage to Prince Fateh Khán.†

In the Bahmaní history‡ the story of the siege of Tamból is somewhat differently told. The substance of the contradictory tale of the Dakhiní history is that the siege had lasted two years when Ahmad Sháh Gujarátí sent an envoy to the Bahmaní king, asking him to leave the fort in the possession of Gujarát. Sultán Ahmad Bahmaní would not consent, and the Sultán of Gujarát, in revenge, marched into the Bahmaní territories, and began to plunder and destroy, which prevented the Bahmaní king from continuing the siege. The account given by the author of the Bahmaní history is not clearly written, while that in the Gujarát history is explicit and is probably nearer the truth.

In Rajab, 836 (A.D. 1433), Sultán Ahmad set out on a campaign against Mewár and Nágór and Kólíwárah. When he reached Sidhpúr, he sent out detachments to lay waste the towns and villages in all directions, and they razed the idol-temples wherever they found them. After some time he reached the town of Dúngarpúr. Ganesá, Rájah of that place, fled, but he repented and returned to wait upon the Sultán, when he was received as an adherent and offered a befitting tribute. The Sultán having chastised and ravaged Kólíwárah, proceeded to the country of Gílwárá, where he levelled with the ground the lofty fort and the idol-temples of Ráná Mokal.§

* According to Firishtah he went to Nádót before returning to Ahmadábád, and left 'Ain-ul-Mulk in charge of that district.

† According to Firishtah this marriage took place in 836 A.H. (probably early in the year).

‡ تاریخ باهمنی. Firishtah says the *Siráj-ut-tawárlkh-i-Dakhin*. According to the Bahmaní account which Firishtah extracts, the campaign was a drawn one, and ended by an engagement to respect the *status quo ante bellum*.

§ This paragraph is not in all copies of the "Tab. Akbarí," but is confirmed by Firishtah, who places this campaign also in 836 A.H. The "Tárikh-i-Alfí" also gives this date, and says it was conducted against Dílwárah and Dahhílwarah (Gílwárah ?), dependencies belonging to Ráná Mokal (of Chitór).

He also executed several rebels who fell into his hands, by casting them under the feet of elephants. Leaving Malik Munír Sultání to collect the revenue of that country, he went on towards the Ráthór country. The chiefs of the Ráthors* submitted to him, and, having paid tribute, were enrolled among his adherents. Fíróz, son of Shams Khán Dindání, nephew of Sultán Muzaffar, who held the government of Nágór, came to pay his respects, and offered a tribute of several lakhs of rupees, which the Sultán graciously refused. Having established some military posts in the Mawás districts, he returned to Ahmadábád. Whenever Sultán Ahmad returned from a journey or a campaign, he always gave a grand entertainment, and rewarded any of the nobles or soldiers who had done approved service, either by presents or by advancement in employment, or in rank; and also dealt liberally with all the people of the city, with the moulvies, shékhs, and other deserving people. On the present occasion, also, he gave a great entertainment, and conferred various favours.

In the year H. 839† (A.D. 1435) intelligence was received that Mahmúd Khán, son of Malik Mo'ghís, *wazír* of Sultán Hoshang, had poisoned Prince Ghazní Khán, who had acted as regent during the reign of his father, and had seized the government himself, under the style of Sultán Mahmúd. Prince Ma'súd Khán, of Málwah, fled for refuge to Sultán Ahmad of Gujarát.

[*The history of the campaign which ensued is here supplied from the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," which, while avoiding the details as to Málwah history which swell the account in the Málwah portion of the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí," gives a fuller and more intelligible*

* Firishtah specifies the chiefs of Bíndí and Nowlát.

† This date is practically given by all authorities. Ghazní Khán, however, reigned for a short time after his father's death under the name of Muhamad Sháh. It will be remembered that, according to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Malik Mo'ghís was originally a kinsman (cousin) of Sultán Hoshang, and, having been largely instrumental in placing him on the throne, had held the office of *wazír* throughout his reign, and had doubtless gained wealth, power, and influence.

account than Firishtah, and a far more complete one than that contained in the Gujarát portion of the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí," Between two and three years seem to have elapsed since the murder of Ghazní Khán before Sultán Ahmad actually invaded Málwah. In the meantime, after various strong and unscrupulous measures to establish his authority, Mahmúd Sháh Khiljí had gone to the eastern frontier of his dominion, where he was engaged in a campaign with the Dehlí troops under the personal command of Bahlóh Lodí (not yet on the throne), while his father, Malik Mo'ghís (termed always 'Azim Humáiún, or Khán Jahán), had vigorously attacked the numerous insurgents who were in arms against Mahmúd's usurpation. The chief of these was Prince Ahmad Khán, son of the late Sultán Hoshang, who defended himself vigorously in Islámábád, till Malik Mo'ghís procured his death treacherously by poison. Malik Mo'ghís having effected this, had proceeded to attack other insurgents in Chandérí and Bhílsah, where Mahmúd Sháh, having heard of Sultán Ahmad's intention, patched up a hasty peace with Bahlóh Lódi and returned to Málwah. The sequel will be given in the words of the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," under the head first of the year 841 A.H.]

When Ma'súd, the son of Hoshang Sháh, fled from Mahmúd Khiljí, he went to Gujarát. Sultán Ahmad of Gujarát adopted his cause, and marched in his support against Málwah. When he reached the town of Salangpúrah,* he detached a force under some of his most trusted and experienced officers, against Khán Jahán (Malik Mo'ghís), who had marched from Bhílsah and Chandérí to join the army at Mandú. Khán Jahán learning this, by a rapid march reached the fort of Mandú, and the Gujarát ruler also arrived beneath its walls. Mahmúd Khiljí did not consider it prudent to risk a pitched battle, and shut himself up in the fort; but sent out a force every day which made a brief sally and then re-entered the fort. After some time he conceived the project of a night attack, but some

* "Jágnapúrah" or "Basondah" according to various copies of Firishtah.

of the people in the fort warned Ahmad Sháh of Gujarát, who was prepared to meet the attack. Mahmúd sallied from the fort, and when the forces met a stubbornly contested fight took place, and in the morning Mahmúd Khiljí drew off and returned into the fort. Ahmad Sháh Gujarátí detached his son, Muhamad Khán, with five thousand horse to Sárangpúr, and he gained possession of that district. 'Umar Khán, a son of Hoshang Sháh, who had fled from Mahmúd Khiljí, originated a rising in Chandérí. Mahmúd Khiljí became very anxious lest his enemies should get possession of all the outlying territories. He had, however, by great gallantry and foresight, made such excellent arrangements, that no one in the garrison was in any way straitened for the means of subsistence, whereas the besiegers were greatly in want of grain.

(*Under the year* 842 A.H.).—In this year. . . . Mahmúd Khiljí, who was within the fort of Mandú, perceiving that no advantage was to be gained by remaining shut up in the fort, issued out of the Tárápúr gate, and marched towards Sárangpúr. Malik Hájí of Gujarát, who was guarding the road to Kaital,* opposed him and attacked the Mandú force, but was overthrown in the first charge and fled. He, joining Sultán Ahmad, informed the latter that Mahmúd Khiljí was marching on Sárangpúr. Sultán Ahmad recalled his son, Muhamad Khán, who rejoined him by way of Ujain, and the governor of Sárangpúr, who had espoused the cause of the Gujarátís, now again joined Mahmúd Khán. 'Umar Khán marched from Chandérí.† When he reached the banks of the Sárangpúr

* "Kaital." This name is variously given; one edition of Firishtah calls it Kanil, and Briggs says "a ford of the Chambal."

† According to the Málwah history in the "Tab. Akbarí," Mahmúd Khán, who was pursuing Muhamad Khán towards Ujain, when he heard of the march of Prince 'Umar, was alarmed (and not, as it proved, without reason) that Ahmad Khán on being joined by Muhamad Khán would advance upon him, and that he would thus be shut in between two hostile forces. Accordingly he promptly turned upon the weaker force, that of 'Umar Khán. He sent before him Táj Khán, with a light force, who gained over the governor of Sárangpúr (the name of this accomplished time-server was Malik Istahak), and carefully reconnoitred the ground. Had 'Umar Khán remained at Chandérí, or even at Bhílsah (which the "Tab. Akbarí" says he burnt

river there were only six *kós** between him and Mahmúd Khán's army. 'Umar Khán, leaving his standard flying in his centre, himself, with a party of veterans, lay in ambush,† watching a favourable opportunity for charging Mahmúd Khiljí's main body. Someone informed Mahmúd Khiljí of this, who at once proceeded with his entire force to the spot where 'Umar Khán was lying in ambush. 'Umar Khán gave battle and was defeated, and although his men endeavoured to bring him off the battle-field he would not go, saying, "Mahmúd Khán is the son of my father's servant; to fly before him would be a hundred times worse than death." So saying, he charged the centre of the Málwah force, and was slain.‡ The Chandérí force which was with 'Umar Khán begged for a truce, but fled in the night to Chandérí.§ Mahmúd Khán was greatly strengthened by this victory. A pestilence‖ broke out in the Gujarát army, and Sultán Ahmad

en route to Sárangpúr), and stood a siege till Ahmad came up, the ultimate result might have been very different; for, as Mahmúd Khiljí feared, Sultán Ahmad did march against him with his main force; but Prince 'Umar appears to have been acting quite independently of Sultán Ahmad, if, indeed, he was not actually jealous of him, as the avowed champion of his brother Ma'súd.

* This distance is given from the "Tab. Akbarí" (Málwah history) the passage in the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" is defective, but it seems to say "two to four *kós*."

† "On the top of the hill."—"Tab. Akbarí" (Málwah history).

‡ According to the Málwah history in the "Tab. Akbarí," 'Umar Khán was taken prisoner, his head struck off and exhibited to the main body of his troops on the end of a spear.

§ Where they elected Sulimán, son of Malik Shér Malik Ghórí, who had been next in command under 'Umar Khán, to be king, under the title of Sultán Shahább-ud-dín.

‖ The term used by Firishtah and by the "Tab. Akbarí" in the history of Gujarát is وبا *wabá*. In the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and the Málwah chapter of the "Tab. Akbarí" it is called طاعون *tá'a,ún* and طاعونی عظیم *tá'a,úní 'azím*, "a *great* pestilence." Firishtah describes it as "of a kind little known in Hindústán." The "Tab. Akbarí" says that several thousands died in two days, and that the survivors were unable to bury the dead. These particulars, especially the sudden and enormous mortality, seem to indicate that the disease was probably *epidemic* cholera; if so, this is apparently the earliest distinct mention of its ravages in history. Oddly enough it was a similar outbreak, in Lord Hastings' camp in Central India, which first practically drew the attention of modern observers to this form of the disease. It would seem, however, that cholera was known in a *sporadic* form to Greek, Sanskrit, and Arab writers on medicine at an earlier period. See Macpherson's "Annals of Cholera," London, 1872.

was compelled to return* to Gujarát; all on the way back fell sick, and entered into Ahmadábád without any parade.† (*Close of extract from the Táríkh-i-Alfí.*)

[*The history is here again taken up by the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí."*] Sultán Ahmad died at Ahmadábád in the year 845 (A.D. 1441),‡ and was buried in the mausoleum in the Mánik chók of that city. He was born on the 19th Zí-l-Hijj 793 (18th of November, A.D. 1391). Twenty years of his noble life had passed when he ascended the throne, and he reigned thirty-two years, six months, and twenty days. His age, at his death, was

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says he returned "slowly."

† *Be-hazúr* بحضور. It may perhaps mean "dejected." According to the "Tab. Akbarí" Sultán Ahmad expressed his regret to Ma'snd Khán that he was compelled to defer his reinstatement, but promised to repeat his campaign, which, however, he did not do before his death.

‡ The chronology of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" is here apparently at fault. The "Tab. Akbarí" says Ahmad died on the 4th of Rabí'-ul-Akhir, 846. Firishtah and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" say also 846. Coins exist struck in Ahmad Sháh's name in 846. (See Thomas, "Chron. Pathan Kings," p. 352.) There is a considerable difference in the MSS. of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" as to the details given in the text, but those of MS. E (which agree with the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí") give the only figures which agree among themselves and with other facts stated, and these point also to 846 A.H. If Ahmad was born in the last month of 793 A.H. he would have been a *little under* twenty on the day when he ascended the throne, which all authorities place in the middle of Ramzán 813. Thirty-two years from that date would bring the time to Ramzán 845, and six months and twenty days would bring the date down exactly to Rabí'-ul-Akhir 846. It may be useful here to give an approximate arrangement of the chronology of the last fourteen or fifteen years of Sultán Ahmad's reign. The death of Púnjá Rájah of I'dar seems to have occurred in 831 A.H. The first occupation of I'dar followed, and Bír (or Hari) Rái's submission after this date. There is considerable difference between the histories. According to the "Mirát" the second occupation of I'dar followed shortly afterwards, say in 832, and the Rájah of Jháláwár's flight, being expressly connected with that event, can hardly have been much later; besides, Prince Muhamad's remonstrance to his father (which the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" puts in 835) complains that he had been absent from head-quarters above four years. It is possible that this may be partly accounted for by supposing that he was first detached against Bír Rái, while his father was occupied in reforming the administration of the country. The wars with Nasír Khán and Ahmad Sháh Bahmaní certainly occupied part of 833 ,but possibly began before and ended after that year. The attack on Maháím by Malik-ut-Tujjár seems to have occurred in 834, and the war with the Bahmanís and the attack on Baglánah to have taken up that year and the greater part of 835. In 836 occurred apparently the attack on Batnól (Tamból), and the latter part of the same year (possibly part also of 837) was occupied by Sultán Ahmad's last recorded "crescentade" against the outlying territories of Chítór. He appears to have remained quiet till 842, when the Málwah campaign occurred, and nothing worthy of note is reported after that; possibly he did not recover his health sufficiently for further campaigning.

fifty-two years and some months. They say that from his youth to the last day of his life he never neglected to say the morning prayers. He was a disciple of the great Shékh Rukn-ud-dín, who was a descendant of Shékh Farid Ganj-i-shakar Chishtí,* whose sepulchre is in the pure city of Pattan, and he also maintained close friendship with the great Shékh Ahmad Khattú. Once on a dark night he poured the water for ablution on the hands of the Shékh, who said, "Is it Salah-ud-dín?" (who was the Shékh's servant). He replied, "No! Ahmad!" The Shékh answered, "O King, most blest!" He made his son serve Muhamad, the Shékh's disciple, but he himself continued to be the disciple of Shékh Rukn-ud-dín.† Above all things the Sultán had no equal in justice, piety, and valour, and was always fierce in religious warfare.

It is related of him that his son-in-law, in the arrogance of youth and the pride of his royal alliance, committed murder. The Sultán arrested the criminal and sent him to the *kázi*, who compromised the offence with the heirs of the murdered person for forty camels as the fine of blood, and brought the parties before the Sultán. The Sultán said: "The heirs of the murdered person may be satisfied, but I must not be so; because persons enjoying my favour of high degree, through this deed, will trust to their own interest and power, and will be emboldened to spill innocent blood. In this case retaliation (*kisás*) must be preferred to the mulct for blood (*diat*)." He ordered the *kázi* to execute the criminal in the bázár, and directed that the body should be exposed on the gibbet for a day; on the next day he ordered it to be taken away and buried. The effect of this exemplary punishment lasted from the beginning to the end of the Sultán's reign, and no noble or

* Shékh Farid Shakargunj Chíshtí buried at Pák Pattan or Ajhódhan in the Punjáb; hence the word پاک "pure," equivalent to Pák, is used to distinguish it from the *Gujarát* "Pattan" or Nahrwálah.

† The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" mentions Shékh Rukn-ud-dín as one of the holy men buried at Nahrwálah, and says that he was *fifth* in descent from Shékh Farid Ganj-i-shakar, and that he died in 842 A.H.

soldier was concerned in murder. There is another story. The Sultán was sitting in the upper part of his palace one day, looking over the Sábarmati which flows under the palace. He saw something black tossing about in the stream which was in flood, and ordered it to be brought to him. It proved to be a large jar, enveloped in a black blanket, in which someone had placed a corpse and set it afloat in the water. The Sultán desired all the potters in the city to be summoned, and when they were assembled he asked if any of them could identify the maker of the jar. One of them said, "It was made by me. I sold it on such-and-such a day to the head-man of such-and-such a village, in the environs of Ahmadábád." The man named was arrested, and, on inquiry and trial, it proved that he had murdered a grain merchant, and, putting the corpse into the jar, had set it adrift on the river. Orders were issued for his execution; and, except these two murders, no one attempted any others during the reign of Sultán Ahmad.*

* Sultán Ahmad was doubtless, from the Muhamadan point of view, almost a pattern monarch. He was a wise administrator, and the people prospered under the administration which he formed, as is amply proved by the increase of revenue which took place up to the time of Muzaffar II. He appears, too, to have strictly and justly enforced the law. He was an active and successful soldier, ready for the most part to assist a Muhamadan friend; ready, also, with or without pretence, to attack an idolatrous neighbour, and to extirpate idol-worship wherever he could. No doubt his Hindú neighbours and subjects looked on the matter in a somewhat different light. Mr. Hope, in his "Architecture of Ahmadábád," represents what was probably their feeling. "The vocation of Ahmad seems rather to have been to destroy than to build, for his whole reign is a series of efforts to break down the liberties, the temples, and the faith of the Hindú landholders of Gujarát, in which, of course, he met with determined resistance. . . . Among the special causes of irritation were the appointment of an officer to destroy all temples, and the efforts of Sháh Ahmad to replenish his harem. Two stories are characteristic of the spirit in which the latter were received. The chief Matúr was invited to Court, and then thrown into prison for refusing to marry his daughter to the Sultán. His queen obtained his liberation by surrendering the beauty. On his release she told him what she had done. The Rájpoot rose quick as thought and seized his sword. His wife cast her arms round him, but he dashed her to the ground, plunged his sword into his breast and expired. The gallant chief of Béóla was more fortunate; feigning to consent to a similar demand, he fixed a day for the marriage, but when the Sultán arrived at Béóla he was attacked by five thousand Rájpoots, and had to carry on a campaign for five months, at the end of which time the chief escaped with his daughter and married her to the Row of Edaur (Rái of I'dar), the inveterate enemy of the Sultán."—See also "Rás Mála," pp. 336-346. It is, however, to be remembered that these marriages were

Sultán Ahmad was also fond of poetry, and a couplet in praise of the saint Shékh Burhán* is attributed to him (a couple of lines consisting of puns on the saint's name and titles, which would lose all force in translation).†

insisted upon everywhere in India by its Muhamadan invaders, in a great measure from motives of policy. Ahmad Sháh was, doubtless, a fanatical Muhamadan, and acted accordingly; but if this be put aside, and if he be acquitted of poisoning his grandfather, he was a sovereign far above the average, and he may be reckoned, not only as the "founder of Ahmadábád" (بانی احمدآباد *bání Ahmadábád*), as historians often call him, but also as the virtual founder of his dynasty and of Muhamadan power in Gujarát. The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" states that after his death he was usually mentioned as "Khudáyagán-i-Maghfúr" (خدایگان مغفور), the "Great Lord whose sins are forgiven."

* Shékh Burhán, surnamed "Kutb-ul-'A'lim," was by descent a Bukhárí Sáid. (He was, according to the "Muntakhab-ul-Lubáh," a grandson of Makhdún-i-Jehánián.) He first became a disciple of his uncle, Sháh Rajú, at the age of ten years. Eventually he settled with his mother at Pattan, where he became a disciple of Shékh Rukn-ud-dín. (According to the "Muntakhab-ul-Lubáh," he came to Gujarát when grown up, because he quarrelled with the Dehlí King.) He was patronized by Sultán Muzaffar, and afterwards was invited to settle at Ahmadábád. He first settled "at the village of Asáwal, on the bank of the Sábarmati." He afterwards moved to Batók, and founded the religious establishment there of which much is said in the course of this history. He was born in 790 A.H., settled in Pattan in 802 A.H., and died, when he was sixty-six years old, in 850 (the date is probably an error for 856).

† Some conception of its idea and poetical merits may be gathered from the following:—If the Shékh's name of "Burhán" be freely rendered as "prosper," and if his title of "Kutb" be taken as "pole-star," it would run somewhat thus—

My "pole-star" of life may be "prosper" for me;
May he, like his name, always "prosper"-ous be.

CHAPTER V.

SULTÁN MUHAMAD, SON OF AHMAD SHÁH.

On the third day after the death of Ahmad Sháh his son Muhamad Sháh ascended the throne in the year H. 845 (A.D. 1441).* He gave himself up to pleasure and ease, and had no care for the affairs of Government; or rather, the capacity of his understanding did not attain to the lofty heights of the concerns of State. But he was liberal with his money, even to excess, so that people called him Sultán Muhamad *Zar-bakhsh* (Gold-giver). On the 20th Ramazán 849 (A.D. 1445) God gave him a fortunate and glorious son, to whom, in an auspicious moment, the name of Fateh Khán was given.†

In the same year he led an army against the Rájah of I'dar,‡ who fled and hid himself in the hills. From thence

* According to the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí," the new king's title was "Ghiás-ud-dunia-wa-ud-dín Muhamad Sháh," which is the title found on his coins (see Thomas's "Chronicle of the Pathán Kings," p. 353), and the date of his accession was "3rd Rabí'-ul-ákhir 846" (12th of August, A.D. 1442), which is doubtless the right date.

† "Mahmúd Khán."—"Tab. Akbarí." Fateh Khán was probably the name given to him at his birth. He became afterwards the great Mahmúd Sháh Bígarha, and this is the reason why special note is here made of his birth.

‡ One copy of the "Tab. Akbarí" says "Rái Bír," and another "Rái Har Rái, son of Púnjá." Firishtah and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" make this expedition against I'dar take place in the first year of Muhamad Sháh's reign. The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" agrees with the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" in fixing it after the birth of the young prince, and in placing that event in 849 A.H.; indeed, the "Tab. Akbarí" expressly says that grand entertainments took place on the occasion of the prince's birth, and that it was not till these were over that the expedition began. This is probably the correct version.

he sent envoys to wait upon the Sultán and ask forgiveness for his offences. He also sent his daughter to the Sultán, who was fascinated with her beauty. Through her influence the Sultán restored the country of I'dar to her father. Afterwards he marched against the country of Bágar,* which he plundered and wasted, and then returned to his capital. In this same year the chief of Shékhs, Shékh Ahmad Khattú, renowned as *Ganj-bakhsh*, departed this life. He was a disciple of Shékh Ishák, who sleeps at Khattú. Khattú is one of the towns in the *sarkár* of Nágór.

In the year H. 855 (A.D. 1451)† he marched with his army to reduce the fort of Chámpánír. Gang Dás, son of Tírbang Dás, gave battle, but was defeated, and shut himself up in the fort. The Sultán invested it, and fighting went on every day. When the garrison was in straits the Rájah sent an emissary to Sultán Mahmúd of Mandú, soliciting his assistance and offering to pay as tribute one *lakh* of *tankahs* for each day's march to cover expenses. Sultán Mahmúd, in base greed, was heedless of his duty to Islám, and marched from his capital. When he reached the town of Dáhód, belonging to Gujarát, and situated near the confines of Málwah, Sultán Muhamad, raised the siege of Chámpánír and went to the village of Kóthrah in the *parganah*‡ of Sánoulí. There he fell ill, and was taken to

* The "Tab. Akbarí" adds: Ganesá, Rájah of Dúngarpúr, fled to the hills, but, seeing that his territory was being wasted, he came forth, made submission, paid tribute, and preserved his country.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" places *this* campaign in 853 A.H. Firishtah agrees.

‡ Firishtah says (Briggs, vol. iv. p. 36), "Muhamad Sháh, having lost many of the carriage cattle of his army during the campaign, no sooner heard of the advance of Sultán Mahmúd than he set fire to the greater part of his baggage, and, against the earnest remonstrances of his officers, commenced to retreat to Ahmadábád." According to the "Tab. Akbarí," the Gujarát king retired only as far as Kóthrah, and there halted to recruit and re-equip his army; while Mahmúd Sháh also halted at Dáhód and remained there. It seems probable that this is the true account. If Sultán Muhamad marched not very early in 853, the siege of Chámpánír would necessarily occupy some time, and he died in the very first month of 855. The "Tárikh-i-Alfí" accordingly makes Muhamad's attack on Chámpánír (which it calls "Biánah") to take place in 853, and Mahmúd's advance to its assistance in 854. This work says Mahmúd returned to Málwah the same year.

Ahmadábád. In the month of Muharram H. 855 he died, and was buried in the mausoleum in Mánik chók, near his father.* He reigned nine years and some months.† The above is the account of the writer of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí"; but the story which is credibly believed in Gujarát, and which has been told me upon good authority, is as follows:—‡

Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí never omitted the smallest trifle of his royal duties, whether towards his people or to his troops, and in addition to these merits he was a disciple of, and maintained intimate friendships with, darvéshes; and when any very perfectly skilful darvésh came to any place (in his dominions) far or near, he sent him presents and valuables, and waited on him with all ceremony, and gained his good will by professions of devotion and piety. Now at this time there was a very holy man in the province of Gujarát, named Shékh Kamál, of Málwah. His tomb is at the back of the *Jáma' masjid* of Khudáwand Khán, known as Malik 'I'lim ("the learned chief"), at 'I'limpúrah, in the environs of Ahmadábád. Mahmúd, both while he was at Ahmadábád and previously, maintained an intimacy with this man; and, accordingly, he now wrote to him to say that, if through blessings invoked by him from the throne of the Absolute King (the Almighty) the kingdom of Gujarát should be made over to him (Sultán Mahmúd), such an event would be in accordance with the favour with which the saint regarded the Sultán's ancestors; and, moreover, that the Sultán would establish for him a refectory for (feeding) the poor, and would settle upon him a stipend equal to that of three *krórs* of *tankahs* enjoyed by Shékh Ahmad Khattú. The Sultán also transmitted to him,

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says he was known after death as the Khudáyagán-i-Karím (the Great Merciful Lord).

† The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah say seven years, nine months, and four days. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives the same number of months and days, but the number of years, by an evident misreading, is given as "twenty."

‡ This passage occurs in all the best MSS. of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" and in the lithographed edition, but part of its sequel occurs mixed up erroneously in other parts of the other MSS. It is quoted from the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," in a somewhat condensed form, by the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí."

as a present, five hundred heavy gold *tankahs* of full current weight. Somebody reported this to Sultán Muhamad, and said that Shékh Kamál, in spite of his ostentation of holiness and the abandonment of wealth, was such a lover of money that he made the holy volume the receptacle for the gold which he had received from Sultán Mahmúd, and kept it there. Sultán Muhamad caused inquiry to be made into this matter, and found that the story was perfectly true. The Sultán was very angry, and, in his wrath, took away the gold coins from the Shékh, and deposited them in his own treasury. The Shékh, in consequence of the kindness and friendship of Sultán Mahmúd, had always a corner for him in his heart. He was now exceedingly enraged at Sultán Muhamad's action, and did not cease day or night to complain against Sultán Muhamad before the Almighty, and to pray that the kingdom of Gujarát might be bestowed on Sultán Mahmúd. At last, in accordance with the text, "The prayer of the oppressed shall not be in vain, even though he be a vile sinner," his petition was accepted. The Shékh promised the kingdom of Gujarát to Sultán Mahmúd. Indeed, he drew up a grant from the Almighty to Sultán Mahmúd of the administration of the country, and wrote to him saying, "God has given you the kingdom of Gujarát. Come quickly, and make no delay in your coming."* Sultán Mahmúd, accordingly marched with eighty thousand horse.† Sultán Muhamad sought the advice of a certain grain-dealer *(bakál)*, who was his intimate friend and counsellor. The *bakál* suggested that the King should for safety place his women and treasure on board ships, and should for some time amuse himself by fishing at sea. In the meantime, he said, Sultán Mahmúd finding himself baulked, like a dog who has got into an empty house, would return, and his

* The sequel of this story will appear under the reign of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín.

† Firishtah says: "In the year 855, Sultán Mahmúd, perceiving the timidity of the present sovereign of Gujarát, advanced with a hundred thousand men, with the resolution to conquer and annex it to the kingdom of Málwah."—Briggs, vol. iv. p. 36.

anger on account of Shékh Kamál would cool down. The *bakál's* advice pleased the Sultán, who set to work to prepare the ships, but said nothing to any of his wise or brave servants. However, one of the great nobles, by name Säíd 'Alá-ullah, who bore the title of Kiwám-ul-Mulk, who lived at Säídpúr, which is near the Astúriah gate, and which was founded by him near the Säíd's burial-ground, got intelligence of the affair; and, thinking that matters were getting out of hand, he seized the *bakál*, and taking him apart and placing his hand upon his dagger, said, "What do you mean by advising the Sultán to fly? I ought to kill you!" The *bakál* replied: "My Lord, you are a man of perfect intelligence. Do you not perceive that the King has shrunk from taking the advice of men who, like you, are wise and brave, and has sought it from me, who am a peaceable and timid *bakál*. Naturally, the result is not manly counsels." The Säíd said that the *bakál* was right, and withdrew his hand from his dagger.* But after consideration he determined to test the Sháhzádeh Jalál Khán and to find out where he was. The prince was then in the city of Nariád. The Säíd proceeded thither, journeying through the night, and, taking the prince into his counsels, said, "Your father has decided to fly, with his wives and treasure, to sea, and to fish; what is your opinion? Suppose the Lord Almighty were to bestow the authority on you, what would you do with Sultán Mahmúd, who is advancing with an enormous force to conquer Gujarát?" Jalál-ud-dín replied: "If I succeeded to this sovereignty, I swear by the Lord of Heaven that I would either conquer my enemy or leave my head on the field of battle." The Säíd was delighted to hear this, and said to himself: "Though our master is not all that he should be, yet our master's son may be so." He then told the prince plainly that the nobles of Gujarát, seeing that his father did not care for his country, and was allowing the government to

* The "Tab. Akbarí," by a mistake, transfers the story of the *bakál* and of his advice to the reign of Kutb-ud-dín.

pass out of the hands of his dynasty, had determined on elevating the prince to the kingdom, in order to oppose Mahmúd Khiljí, if he liked it, and would agree (to fight). The Prince assented, and the Säíd introduced him secretly by night into Ahmadábád by the "Mírzú" gate, and dropped the medicine of death into the cup of the Sultán's life.*

* Firishtah confirms this story substantially; he says the Sultán endeavoured to get on board ship, and to fly to Díú, and refused to take any action in defence of the country, and that his nobles thereupon went to the Sultán's wife, and brought such pressure to bear on her, that she consented to his death by poison. Firishtah gives the date of his death as the 7th of Muharram 855 A.H.; and this is probably—at least, approximately—correct, for the text makes Kutb-ud-dín succeed on the 11th of Muharram.

CHAPTER VI.

SULTÁN KUTB-UD-DÍN.

On the 11th Muharram H. 855 (13th February A.D. 1451), Sultán Kutb-ud-dín,* eldest son of Sultán Muhamad, ascended the throne, and, according to the rules and practice of his ancestors, he bestowed complimentary dresses and gifts upon his soldiers.

The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" relates that when Sultán Muhamad died and Kutb-ud-dín succeeded to the throne Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, King of Málwah, had led his army from his own country to attack Gujarát. When he reached Sultánpúr, Malik 'Alá-ud-dín, son of Suhráb, who was governor of the place for Kutb-ud-dín, shut the gates of the fort in his face and opened fire both with guns and musketry. Mahmúd Khiljí besieged the place for seven days. After that, through the mediation of Mubárak Khán, son of Ahmad Sháh and uncle of Kutb-ud-dín, who had gone to Sultán Mahmúd at Mandú during the previous reign, and had joined his court, 'Alá-ud-dín came to terms with Sultán Mahmúd. Sultán Mahmúd required 'Alá-ud-dín to take an oath (of allegiance) on the Kurán. Malik 'Alá-ud-dín swore evasively, saying, "If 'Alá-ud-dín acts against his master, may the holy word

* He was the Jalál Khán of the previous chapter, and his full title as King was Sultán Kutb-ud-dín Ahmad Sháh.

destroy his life."* Sultán Mahmúd was satisfied. Sultán Mahmúd sent 'Alá-ud-dín's property to Málwah, showed him great favour, and gave him an important command in his forces.†

Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí pursued his march, and on reaching the village of Sársápálrí‡ in the *sarkár* of Bharúj, he sent a message to Malik Sídí Marján Khán, who held the fort of Bharúj for Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, inviting him to surrender, reciting the favours and honours bestowed on 'Alá-ud-dín, and promising that if he would give in his allegiance he should be similarly treated, and that he should have anything he desired; and that if he would bring out the leading merchants dwelling in Bharúj with him, he would double those favours. Sídí Marján gave him an angry answer, and put the fort in order and prepared for resistance. The King of Mandú asked Malik 'Alá-ud-dín how long it would take to reduce the fort. He replied that it would require at least six or seven months, and that mines must be driven and *sábáts* constructed in various places. To this the King replied that he hoped to subdue the whole of Gujarát in six months. He continued his march, and crossing the river Narbadah, he approached Barodah. On reaching the village of Barnáwah,§ one of his elephants became furious, and breaking loose, made off into the country. The animal came at night into the village of Barnáwah, and the Bráhmans ‖ of that place attacked him with their swords and spears and cut off his head. In the morning, when the Sultán came into the village he saw the elephant cut to pieces, and inquired how it had been done. When he was informed that Bráhmans

* This evasive form of oath was, as will become evident later on, expressly adopted to cover the treachery already designed by 'Alá-ud-dín.

† There is a doubtful word before the word "forces," but it is probably *Habísh* or *Habsh*, "Abyssinian." This word, which literally signifies "Abyssinian," will be so translated in this work; though it is really used as a specific name for all negroes.

‡ "Sársápálrí." So in two texts; others have "Sársábálrí," "Sársámálrí," "Sársámákrí," and "Sármárí."

§ So in the MSS., but the lithographed text has "Nariád."

‖ The word is *zánárdár*, that is "wearer of the *janéó* or sacred thread." This, of course, would include Rájpúts, but the word seems always taken as equivalent to "Bráhman" only.

had killed this fighting elephant, he observed that the climate of Gujarát must be very favourable to valour if such a deed had been there done by Bráhmans.

Sultán Mahmúd advanced to the town of Barodah and gave it up to plunder. There he learnt that Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, encouraged thereto by the holy men of the country and of Ahmadábád,* had marched out and pitched his tent on a ford of the Mahindri, at a place called Khánpúr Bánkánír. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" has not recorded the encouraging advice of the holy men, but I have made inquiries of men of good repute in the country, and report what I have heard.†

When the footsteps of Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí were heard on the confines of Gujarát, the people of that country were greatly troubled at the weakness of their own army and the enormous forces of Mahmúd Khiljí. Accordingly the wisest and most prudent among them came to the conclusion that, as the kingdom had originally been bestowed on the present dynasty ‡ by the Holy Kutb-ul-aktáb Makhdúm Jehánián, it would be now expedient in the first place to apply to the Holy Burhán-ud-dín, who was that saint's descendant and virtual successor. Accordingly, the next day they brought Sultán Kutb-ud-dín before the Saint. The Sultán made his respects to the latter, and explained that Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, with eighty thousand men, many elephants, and innumerable followers, had invaded the kingdom of Gujarát with the intention of conquering it, and that as in fact the kingdom of

* Firishtah says that Kutb-ud-dín was advised to withdraw to Sórath and to abandon the rest of his dominions, and was disposed to acquiesce in this advice, but that his nobles would not let him. The "Tab. Akbarí" reproduces here the story of the *bakál*, which, as has been seen, really belongs to the history of Sultán Muhamad II. Kutb-ud-dín's subsequent behaviour is not at all in accordance with such a demeanour on this occasion, and probably the story got imported from the history of his father.

† The MSS. differ considerably in the following story, which is given in all, moreover, at a tedious length. What is here given is an abstract version only. It is, as will be seen, the sequel of the story of Shékh Kamál-ud-dín.

‡ See p. 71.

Gujarát had been conferred on his (the King's) ancestors by the predecessors of the Saint, he trusted that the latter would now take cognizance of the matter, and would avert the present dangers. The Saint desired the King to be of good cheer, and to put aside all fear and alarm. That no doubt the origin of all the mischief was the offence given to a certain darvésh (Shékh Kamál) by the short-sighted conduct of his father. Nevertheless he would do his best in the matter, and endeavour to effect the Sultán's desire. He then said, "Who will go to Shékh Kamál and beg him to excuse the offences committed against him?" All present replied that the Saint's youngest son was undoubtedly the best person to send.* The Saint expressed his agreement, so his son, Sháh 'A'lam, was brought to him, and he directed him to go to Shékh Kamál with his respects, and beg that he would excuse his interference, but that it was not right to visit the sins of the father upon the son, for, as the Lord of Glory had said in his holy word, it behoved him to let bygones be bygones and to grant forgiveness, for there was a delight in pardon which revenge could not have. He wished, therefore, that he would write to Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí to return to his own country, in order that the people of Gujarát, who were in alarm and anxiety, might be reassured.

Sháh 'A'lam went to Shékh Kamál and told him what Sáíd Burhán-ud-dín had said, and preferred his request in the most respectful manner. Shékh Kamál, however, did not vouchsafe a satisfactory answer, and Sháh 'A'lam came back and told Sáíd Burhán-ud-dín what had passed. His father desired him to return and to present his regards to the Shékh, and to say that he was bound to grant his pardon for the sake of the people of the Lord, who were not strong enough to resist; nor could they bear either to abandon their country or to live in it

* It appears from the context that "Sháh 'A'lam" was sent; and, according to the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," he was the saint's eleventh son (there were twelve in all), and known always as "Mián Manjlah."

under foreigners. Sháh 'A'lam went accordingly, and with all respect delivered his message and repeated his request. Shékh Kamál answered as before, and his reply was not unmixed with anger. Sháh 'A'lam returned, vexed and annoyed, to his father, and told him that the Shékh had refused his request, adding that he himself would not go to him again. Säíd Burhán-ud-dín said: "In this matter I must regard the interests of the people of the Lord, and cannot allow myself to be remiss. You *must* go once again to Shékh Kamál, and say, 'Your servant Burhán-ud-dín, the humble Burhán-ud-dín, the helpless Burhán-ud-dín, kisses your feet, and intreats you by the love of the Prophet to forgive the offence of your servant, and to desist from your revenge; for the people of Hindustán are a rude and unpolished race, and the people of this country cannot get on with them.'" Sháh 'A'lam accordingly returned to Shékh Kamál and delivered this message. Now Shékh Kamál had not yet perfected himself as a darvésh, and had not attained to his maturity of wisdom . . . else he would not have refused the requests of the Säíd, and would have paid him proper reverence. However, not duly considering the gravity of the matter, he again commenced to return a rude answer, and said, "I have for the past seven years been continually praying to the Lord of Glory that the kingdom of Gujarát may be given to Sultán Mahmúd; why should I give it now to the son of the man who oppressed me, and disappoint Sultán Mahmúd, who has always been the friend and associate of darvéshes? It cannot be. Son of the Säíd! give my respects to Mián Burhán-ud-dín, and say that what he asks is impossible. The arrow which has left the bow cannot return to it." Sháh 'A'lam smiled and said:

"Saints can o'er sins the cloak of grace let fall,
And the sped arrow to the bow recall." *

When he said this the Shékh flew in a rage, and said: "Boy!

* This appears to be a proverb. The appositeness of the quotation seems to be the point which enraged Shékh Kamál.

this is not child's play. One cannot continually be chopping and changing in the matter of a kingdom. It must be accepted as finally settled that the kingdom of Gujarát has passed out of the possession of the Tánk dynasty, and has been settled upon Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí." Then rising on his knees, and lifting his hand above his head, he took out of its hiding-place a purple paper and gave it to Sháh 'A'lam, saying, "This is the *firmán* which has been prepared, granting the kingdom of Gujarát to Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí; it is no use to importune me; the matter is recorded in the indelible tablets of God." Sháh 'A'lam returned to his father and told him what had passed. Burhán-ud-dín's anger was violently inflamed, and he then and there tore the paper in pieces, and said: "This order has no currency or authority in the jurisdiction of the 'Kutb-ul-aktáb.'" Shékh Kamál was supernaturally apprised of this speech, and he became faint, and saying, "The son of the Säíd is too strong for me," at once gave up the ghost.*

When Burhán-ud-dín was told of this, he said, "My son has been hasty. There was need of patience here.† I would have humbled myself before Shékh Kamál in any way he wished, until I forced him, for very shame, to grant forgiveness." It is credibly reported in Gujarát, and I have heard it on good authority, that three days after the death of the Shékh Kamál Sháh 'A'lam said, "Friends, let us visit the tomb of Shékh Kamál and pay our respects, for he has passed away in anger with me." On the morning of the next day but one Sháh 'A'lam arrived at the tomb of Shékh Kamál, and, after the *fátihah* had been said, and flowers had been distributed, Sháh

* The historical fact covered by this story appears to be that there was a struggle between two rival sects or schools of mystic devotees for political power, which one endeavoured to gain by intriguing with Sultán Mahmúd (already predisposed to attack Gujarát), and the other by sustaining the reigning dynasty. The latter triumphed, and the death of the leader of the opposite party does not, perhaps, require a supernatural explanation. The sequel of the story, though nonsensical, is given as picturesque and as illustrative of the manners and customs of the "darvésh" of that day.

† This, apparently, is intended to intimate that Sháh 'A'lam, and not his father, was responsible for Shékh Kamál's death, whether this was miraculously caused or otherwise.

'A'lam got up, and, placing some of the flowers upon the sheet which covered the tomb, said: "O Shékh! efface from your heart your feud with me; the day of resurrection is nigh at hand, when, please God, you and I shall meet each other again." He had hardly finished speaking when the flowers leaped off the sheet and fell upon the ground, as if a hand from beneath the sheet had struck them off. The people assembled were all amazed. But Sháh 'A'lam again placed the flowers on the sheet, and said: "Have a care, O Shékh! I have committed no offence against you; accept these flowers." Again it happened as before; the flowers leaped off the sheet, and fell on the ground. The lookers-on were much excited, and Sháh 'A'lam, becoming angry, took the flowers a third time into his hand, and exclaimed: "Oh, silly Shékh! if you again reject my flowers I will adjure you by the person of the Glorious One to come forth out of your tomb on which I, the lowliest of the lowly, have placed them. Moreover, desist from your hatred and enmity. Of what are you thinking?" As Sháh 'A'lam uttered these words a sensible tremour passed over the tomb, and the lookers-on noticed it to each other; and this time the flowers which Sháh 'A'lam deposited on the tomb remained undisturbed. The beholders were beyond measure astonished; but what room is there for astonishment at any act of the great and holy saints.*

All these matters were made known to Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí; but he, confident in the number of his troops and in the abundance of his war material, his guns and his muskets, took no heed of them, and advanced by regular marches. Great confusion resulted in the kingdom of Gujarát; many persons fled the country, and others, devoting themselves to death, lost both lives and property.

* The whole of this passage, from the close of Burhán-ud-dín's exclamation as to the death of Shékh Kamál down to the march of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín from Ahmadábád, is found only in the Hyderábád MS. The text is, even there, doubtful in some passages, but what appears to be the sense is given here.

Sultán Kutb-ud-dín entreated the same Burhán-ud-dín to accompany him to the war, or, at any rate, to direct that his son Mián Jíw (for so the Sultán was accustomed to call Sháh 'A'lam) should do so, that by the sanctity of their presence glory and victory might be assured. Burhán-ud-dín said that as Sultán Kutb-ud-dín was the oppressed, and Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí the oppressor, and as it was the first of virtues to succour the oppressed, he would permit Sháh 'A'lam to join him. On the second day's march there was a scarcity of water, and Sháh 'A'lam could procure none to perform his ceremonial ablutions. The next morning he sent a message to the Sultán, saying that he was not able to bear the difficulties of the journey and the discomforts of camp-life, and to express his regret that he must take leave and go back. The Sultán, however, might be of good cheer, for that victory was secured, and had been decreed to him from heaven. The Sultán replied that his spirits were greatly depressed at the Saint's return, and begged that the Saint would give him his sword. Sháh 'A'lam replied, "The sword of darvéshes, their staff, their slippers, their rosary, all possess intelligence. God forbid that you should do anything hostile to darvéshes! but if you *did*, the sword might injure you." The Sultán fell at his feet, and said, "You have raised me up out of the dust. You are my teacher, I your disciple. How could I do anything wanting in respect to darvéshes?" The Saint answered, "The time will come when God appoints." Nevertheless, the Saint relented at the vehemence* of the Sultán, and he drew his sword† from the scabbard and gave it to the Sultán. It so happened that at this time Sultán Mahmúd had in his army

* "Vehemence." The word so translated is given in all the texts as شدنی *shudaní*, which means "practicability"; the addition of a single dot, however, converts the word into شدتی *shidatí*, which means "vehemence," and makes good sense, which the other reading does not. This passage explains the reason for giving the name of *Shidatí* to the small elephant mentioned in the next paragraph.

† Some MSS. say he gave only the scabbard.

an elephant called Ghálib Jang,* which was nearly always in a state of fury,† and if, in this condition, any other elephant opposed it, would rip up its belly; for this reason it was known in the army as "The Butcher." Sháh 'A'lam ordered all Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's own elephants to be brought for his inspection; he selected one rather under-sized elephant, which was not yet come to maturity, and placed his hands on it, saying, "O Shidatí! by the help of God tear open the belly of the Butcher." Then, placing in his bow an arrow without a feather, and without a point, he shot it towards the army of Sultán Mahmúd; after this, he left, and returned to Ahmadábád.

Kutb-ud-dín moved against the enemy and encamped at Khánpúr Bánkánír.‡ Gang Dás, Rájah of Chámpánír, forsook his allegiance, submitted to and joined Sultán Mahmúd, and in this invasion he acted as his guide. He informed Mahmúd that the enemy had seized the ford, but offered to lead him by way of Kaparbanj§ over a ford at the village of I'nárí in the *parganah* of Bárah Sanwál. Mahmúd approved, and the army marched in that direction. Here Malik 'Alá-ud-dín Suhráb said to the nobles who were his companions, "I have sworn that I will not act against my master. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín is *my* master, and I am going to him; follow ye *your* own master." So he went off and joined Kutb-ud-dín, who received him with honour.‖ He told Kutb-ud-dín that Sultán Mahmúd was marching by way of Kaparbanj, and advised him to proceed thither. Mahmúd had not yet reached the place when

* "Overcoming in battle."

† Literally, "in a *mast* condition."

‡ In most of the MSS. the story of the Saint Sháh 'A'lam's march from and return to Ahmadábád is inserted here. The Hyderábád MS. alone gives it as the sequel of the other stories relating to the Saint and his son, and this arrangement seems more appropriate, and has been adopted in the text.

§ Twenty *kós* from Ahmadábád ("Tab. Akbarí").

‖ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," Kutb-ud-dín was so delighted that he bestowed dresses of honour on 'Alá-ud-dín Suhráb seven times in the course of one assembly, and gave him the title of 'Alá-ul-Mulk.

Kutb-ud-dín arrived and encamped in the environs of that town. Mahmúd encamped at the distance of three *kós*.

On the night of 1st Safar, Sultán Mahmúd issued from his camp to make a night attack, but his guide lost his way and wandered in the sand and dust till morning without finding the right road. At daybreak Sultán Kutb-ud-dín set his army in array. The right, with a veteran force and the elephants, was placed under the command of Diláwar Khán, the left under Malik Nizám, Mukhtas-ul-Mulk; with the centre, under himself, he kept Khán Jahán, Malik Mír Wazír, Mahtáb Khán son of Sultán Muzaffar, Zíá-ul-Mulk, Tóghán Sháh Khatrí entitled Iftikhár-ul-Mulk, Sikandar Khán son of Sultán Muhamad and grandson of Sultán Ahmad, Malik Halím 'Azam Khán, and Kadar Khán. He placed some of his most tried and bravest troops in advance. On the other side, Sultán Mahmúd arranged his right opposite his enemy's left, and his left opposite the enemy's right, and moved forward.

When the battle began Mahmúd was mounted on an elephant, and had a black umbrella over his head which flashed in the sun like lightning, and he placed the elephant Ghálib Jang like a key in front of his forces, hoping by means of that key to open the locked ranks of the enemy. Kutb-ud-dín was mounted on a bay horse, and had a green umbrella over him, and the rolling billows (of war) dashed together like the waves of the ocean. Both sovereigns bravely kept their post in the centre, encouraging and rewarding their men.

First, on Sultán Mahmúd's side, Muzaffar Khán, the governor of Chandérí, with several well-known elephants, attacked Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's left, and routed it, and then attacked Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's camp, which he began to plunder; while he was loading the Sultán's treasure on his elephants, Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's right attacked and broke Sultán Mahmúd's left. The troops closed, and the fight spread to both centres. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's elephants gave way to Ghálib Jang, so Sultán Kutb-ud-dín called to his men to bring out "Shidatí," for, he

said, "the Saint promised that he should rip up the Butcher." Accordingly, "Shidatí" was brought, and charged the Butcher; at that moment a band of the powerful and brave inhabitants of Dhólkah, whom they call "Darwazíahs," dismounted and hamstrung the Butcher, which fell to the ground like a cow, and the tusks of Shidatí, entering its belly, tore out its intestines. Just at this instant an arrow shot by an unseen hand pierced the umbrella of Sultán Mahmúd, and, breaking the staff, the top fell down.* On beholding this his troops took to flight.† Muzaffar Khán, who was the cause of

* This is, of course, supposed to be the pointless arrow described as having been shot (with a prediction) by Sháh 'A'lam.

† The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says that Kutb-ud-dín's left was so utterly overthrown that it continued its flight to Ahmadábád. It says, also, that Mahmúd Khiljí fought with the greatest gallantry, and, when his army had given way, remained on the battle-field, with only eighteen men, till he had expended all his arrows and had no option but to fly. Even then he collected a few scattered fugitives, and in a loud voice gave pretended orders for a night attack on the Gujarátí army; he thus created an alarm in the Gujarátí camp, and kept the enemy's troops on the defensive all night, during which he effected his retreat unmolested. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" also states that in 857 A.H. Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí assembled a large force on the Gujarát frontier, but only for defensive purposes; and in 858 A.H. concluded a treaty of peace with Kutb-ud-dín to the effect that they were to unite in attacking the Ráná (of Chitór), and that each Sultán was to retain for himself any territory he could seize from the infidel.

The "Tab. Akbarí" adds to these particulars that Muzaffar Khán, having penetrated to the rear of the Gujarátí force, fell upon their camp and seized the Sultán's treasury. He at once proceeded to load his elephants with valuables, and conveyed them to his own camp; and, having unloaded the elephants, was returning with them for more plunder, when he learned that the left wing of his own army had been routed. The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" also informs us that Mahmúd Khiljí was attacked during his retreat by the Bhíls and Kóles, and lost many men.

Firishtah varies in many particulars. He places the scene of the battle at Sarkhéj; he also tells a romantic story that Mahmúd, with only thirteen men, charged into the Gujarátí camp and carried off thence the crown, girdle, and other valuables belonging to Sultán Kutb-ud-dín. These jewels [which underwent curious vicissitudes] no doubt fell into the hands of the Málwah king; but the story of his personal seizure of them is hardly probable. Both the histories above quoted, including the Málwah chapter of the "Tab. Akbarí," which is founded on Málwah authorities, are entirely silent on this point; nor is such a story consistent with the description of the battle as given by them, which agrees entirely with that of the text. Indeed, such an act would hardly have been creditable to Mahmúd, if true; the jewels, in all likelihood, formed originally part of Muzaffar Khán's plunder. Firishtah adds that the Gujarátí army captured eighty elephants on this occasion, and confirms what is said by the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" as to the pretence of a night attack used by Mahmúd Khiljí to cover his retreat, and as to the treaty and its provisions, which latter are in themselves probable and in harmony with sub-

these hostilities, was taken prisoner,* and Kutb-ud-dín ordered that he should be beheaded, and that his head should be hung over the gate of Kaparbanj. This battle was fought on a Friday, in the month of Safar, A.H. 855 (March 1451). Thus Sultán Mahmúd, who relied on his numerous army, and the number of his implements of war, was defeated, and Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, who listened to the words of darvéshes and holy men, and obeyed their commands, gained the victory.

It is said that when Sháh 'A'lam was departing from the camp he said to Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, "Will you not make a small offering to the spirits of the prophets of the faith in acknowledgment of the attainment of your wishes?" The Sultán said he would give a *tankah* of gold for each prophet, to be divided among the poor. The Saint said that this was too much, that such a payment would be difficult even for the rich. The Sultán pressed the acceptance of his offer, and the Saint said, "Then let the *tankahs* be silver, and not gold," and the Sultán agreed. After the victory the Sultán sent seventy thousand silver *tankahs*. Sháh 'A'lam said the number of the prophets was more than seventy thousand, and returned the money; but he divided among the poor a *lakh* and twenty-four thousand *tankahs* out of his own money. The Sultán took no notice, but one day he remarked to Saint Burhán-ud-dín, "I sent seventy thousand *tankahs* of silver to Sháh 'A'lam; he did not honour me by accepting them, but sent them back." He said, however, nothing about what he had promised. Burhán-ud-dín said to Sháh 'A'lam, "My son, a thank-offering

sequent events. The "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," further on, relates the conclusion of a similar treaty, but dates it in 860 A.H. It is probable that 857 A.H. is the correct date.

* Three reasons are above assigned for Mahmúd's invasion; viz. first, the weakness and timidity of the Sultán of Gujarát; secondly, the invitation from a disloyal but influential portion of the religious recluses; thirdly, the advice and instigation of a discontented member of the royal family of Gujarát. In all probability all these causes combined to induce Sultán Mahmúd to give the reins to his ambition, which was never of a scrupulous character. It is probable that Muzaffar Khán was *not* the Muzaffar Khán distinguished by the title of Governor of Chandérí, of whom mention is made above.

for a victory is not a matter for chaffering. You should not have returned the money." Sháh 'A'lam, out of politeness, kept silence, and said not a word; but he was offended with Sultán Kutb-ud-dín on account of this matter, and a coldness came over the affection with which he formerly regarded Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, and the effects of this coolness will appear in the subsequent narrative. Another story relates that when Mahmúd Khiljí reached the frontiers of Gujarát he was waited upon by some Hindú accountants who had gone over to him from Kutb-ud-dín. Mahmúd asked them for a statement of the revenues of Gujarát, and on looking at it he perceived that two-sixths were appropriated to the *jágírs* of the soldiery, and that one-sixth was assigned in charitable allowances, as *áímah*, &c. This proportion of charitable allowances existed to the days of Kutb-ud-dín. Afterwards each Sultán increased it at his pleasure. Mahmúd observed that the conquest of Gujarát was a difficult undertaking, because it had one army for day and another for night.*

Sultán Kutb-ud-dín returned triumphant to Ahmadábád, and gave himself up to amusement and pleasure. He gave splendid feasts and regal entertainments, and indulged in drinking of wine and sensuality. He erected some fine buildings, such as the matchless Hauz (tank) of Kánkaríah, the garden of Nagínah, and the tank therein; also the palace and gardens of Ghát Mandól,† all of them as magnificent as the mansions of heaven, and as lovely as the gardens of Fairyland, and are still to be found outside the walls of the city. The writer of this work saw them all some years ago, but now not a trace is left of

* The meaning is that there was an army of soldiers for service by day, and an army of holy men who spent the night in prayer for the kingdom. Some MSS. say that one-sixth was devoted to charity *and* to the expenses of Royalty, but the reading in the text has been adopted as preferable.

† Ghát Mandól. This name, which is very variously written in the texts, is restored from the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," in the appendix to which is also a long account of these gardens, the story of their construction, and the etymology of their names. This account it is proposed to give as an appendix to Vol. II.

the palace, though the tank (of Kánkaríah) and the garden remain.

In the year 855 (A.D. 1451), Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí went out with an army to effect the conquest of the country of Nágór, and Sultán Kutb-ud-dín sent Sáíd 'Atá-ullah, entitled Kiwám-ul-Mulk, with a strong force to his support.* He had reached the neighbourhood of Sámbhar when Mahmúd desisted from his enterprise and returned home. Kiwám-ul-Mulk did the same.† Soon after this Fíróz Khán, son of Shams Khán Dindáni, ruler of Nágór died. Mujáhid Khán, brother of Fíróz Khán, then expelled Shams Khán the son of Fíróz, and seized upon the government.

Shams Khán took refuge with the Ráná,‡ and having obtained his assistance he attacked Nágór. Mujáhid Khán being unable to meet the attack went to Sultán Mahmúd. The Ráná wished to throw down a building in Nágór,§ but Shams Khán objected, and the dispute grew so warm that they nearly came to a fight. The Ráná went off in anger to his own country, and having collected an army he returned to attack Nágór. Shams Khán set the fort of Nágór in order, and went

* This is probably a version of the statement in the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" as to Mahmúd's assembly of a defensive force on his frontier in 857 A.H. It seems more probable that this part of the narrative relates to this last-named year than to 855 A.H. as stated in the text.

† According to the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," Burhán-ud-dín, the Saint, died in 857 or 858; this must be at least approximately correct, for, as will be seen, his son, Sháh 'A'lam, thenceforward took the leadership of the school of devotees, and took a very active part in the politics of his day.

‡ Ráná Kómbhá, son of Ráná Mókal ("Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah).

§ This, as it stands, is unintelligible. The "Tab. Akbarí" says: "The Ráná promised to wrest Nágór from Mujáhid Khán, and restore it to Shams Khán on condition of his throwing down the top of the battlements of the fort. His object was this. Ráná Mókal had formerly been defeated by Fíróz Khán and put to flight with a loss of three thousand Rájpúts, and his son now thought that if he removed the upper battlements from the fortifications, the world would say, 'Although Ráná Mókal ran away, his son has laid his hand upon the fort.' The wretched Shams Khán had no option but to accede. . . . After the place was taken, the Ráná sent to require the fulfilment of the condition. Shams Khán called a meeting of his nobles and officers and laid the matter before them. They said, 'Would to God that Fíróz Khán had left a daughter, for then the honour of his family would have been saved.' Shams Khán proudly answered the Ráná, 'That heads must fall before the battlements came down.' The Ráná then retired to his country." Firishtah gives the same account, and it is also confirmed by the "Táríkh-i-Alfí."

to wait upon Sultán Kutb-ud-dín and seek his aid. He took with him his daughter and gave her to the Sultán to wife. Kutb-ud-dín sent Rái A'mí Chand Mánik and Malik Gadái, with other nobles and an army, to relieve the fort of Nágór, but he kept Shams Khán near himself. The nobles fought a battle with the Ráná near Nágór. Many Musulmáns received the honour of martyrdom, and numberless infidels went their way to hell, but victory declared for neither. The Ráná plundered the town of Nágór and the neighbourhood, and then retired to his own country.*

In the year 860 (A.D. 1456) Sultán Kutb-ud-dín led forth his army against the country of the Ráná to avenge the ravaging of Nágór. On his way he was waited on by Khatiá Déórah Rájah of Siróhí, who came to complain that the Ráná had taken from him, by force, the fort of A'bú, which had been the abode and refuge of his ancestors, and entreated the Sultán to right him by recovering it. The Sultán deputed Malik Sha'bán 'Imád-ul-Mulk to wrest the fort out of the hands of the adherents of the Ráná and to make it over to Khatiá. The Malik had never been employed in such a service before. He went in among narrow and difficult passes in the hills in an unsoldierly manner, and the enemy opposed his advance and poured down on him on all sides from the heights, and he was defeated with the loss of many men.† When this news reached the Sultán he was already in the neighbourhood of Kómbhálmír,‡

* According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" Shams Khán went with this force and was decidedly worsted, and Firishtah has the same story.

† According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" Sha'bán simply failed in reducing A'bú, and, after suffering heavy losses, was recalled. Firishtah takes no notice of the episode. According to the "Tab. Akbarí," Sha'bán failed, and, losing many men, the Sultán recalled him, ordering him to raise the siege of A'bú for the present, but to promise Khatiá Déórah that he would deal with A'bú on another occasion.

‡ According to Firishtah, the "Tab. Akbarí," and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Kutb-ud-dín first marched against Siróhí, the Rájah of which place came out and gave battle, and after a severe engagement was defeated. Kutb-ud-dín then pressed on against Kómbhálmír, sending out detachments to ravage the country as he advanced. On reaching Kómbhálmír he sat down before it, and Ráná Kómbhá came out and gave battle. (The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says two days after Kutb-ud-dín's arrival.) Khómbhálmír was one of the thirty-two fortresses erected by Ráná Kómbhá (Tod's "Rájasthán," ch. 8).

and Ráná Kómbhá came down from his fort and made an attack, but he was defeated with heavy loss, and retired to his stronghold.

Sultán Kutb-ud-dín invested Kómbhálmír and sent out detachments to ravage the country. It is said that it was so frequently and completely plundered that not a single head of cattle was left in the home of any Hindú, and slaves, male and female, beyond count fell into the hands of the spoilers. Kómbhá was helpless and begged for pardon. He sent a suitable tribute, and bound himself by a solemn engagement never again to attack Nágór or invade the territories of Islám. The Sultán then returned to his capital, and gave himself up to splendid festivities and pleasures.

In course of time, ambassadors arrived from Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, with a message to the effect that strife among the people of Islám resulted in the peace and security of the infidels, and that it was expedient, in accordance with the precept that "believers should be brothers," that they should enter into a close alliance with each other, and direct their efforts to the repression of the infidels, especially Ráná Kómbhá, who had so often wronged Musulmáns. Mahmúd Khiljí proposed that he should assail him on one side, and Sultán Kutb-ud-dín on the other; thus they would utterly destroy him, and they could then divide his country between them. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín accepted the proposal, and a treaty in accordance therewith was duly executed.*

In the year 861 (A.D. 1457) Kutb-ud-dín led an army against Ráná Kómbhá. Mahmúd Khiljí advanced on the other side till he reached the town of Mandisór; while Sultán

* Firishtah says the embassy, of which one Táj Khán was chief, reached Kutb-ud-dín on his return towards Gujarát. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" especially calls this a *fresh* treaty; probably the object of the first treaty of 858 A.H. was really only to conclude peace between themselves. The present one was directed against the Ráná of Chitór. Firishtah says the treaty was executed at (or near) Champánír. The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" gives the names of the nobles who negotiated the treaty: on behalf of Mahmúd, Shékh Nizám-ud-dín and Malik-ul-'Ulemá; on Kutb-ud-dín's side, Kází Hisám-ud-dín.

Kutb-ud-dín advanced by Nádót and Bálásanwah. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's first operation was to reduce the fort of A'bú, which he made over to Khatíá Déórah. From thence he advanced upon Kómbhálmír and ravaged all its territories. At that time Ráná Kómbhá was in the fort of Chitór, and Sultán Kutb-ud-dín marched thither. The Ráná came out of Chitór with forty thousand horse and two hundred elephants, and, occupying the narrow defiles and rugged positions, gave battle. It is said that fighting went on for five days, and that a cup* of water was sold for five *phadiyas*, equivalent in that neighbourhood to twelve *Murádí tankahs*. On the fifth day the Musulmán army gained the victory, and the Ráná, baffled and defeated, returned with a sad heart and a pale face to Chitór.†

The Sultán followed him and invested the fortress, and in the end the representatives of Ráná Kómbhá, son of Mókal, came to beg forgiveness at the feet of the Sultán. A suitable tribute‡ was taken, and the Ráná made a covenant that he would never again molest Nágór. The Sultán then returned to his capital,§ and Sultán Mahmúd went homewards, having received from the Ráná the district of Mandisór and several other *parganahs* adjacent to the territories of Málwah.‖

Six months later Ráná Kómbhá broke the treaty, and set forth to plunder Nágór. Intelligence of this reached Malik Sha'bán 'Imád-ul-Mulk at midnight. He went at once to the Sultán's private apartments and asked for him. He was told

* Some MSS. read, "a poppy-head full," *i.e.* "a mere thimbleful."

† The "Tab. Akbarí" says the fighting lasted only one day; the battle was drawn. The next day the Ráná withdrew into the fort and sued for peace. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives no particulars, but Firishtah speaks of two battles, one near Siróhí, another near Chitór.

‡ Firishtah says fourteen maunds of gold, two elephants, and other valuables; the "Tab. Akbarí," four maunds of gold, several elephants, and other things; the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," four maunds of gold, two elephants, fifty horses, and precious stuffs.

§ The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" seems rather to intimate that Kutb-ud-dín made his own terms and left Mahmúd to shift for himself.

‖ Ráná Kómbhá's view of these transactions has been put on record by himself on the celebrated "pillar of victory" which he erected at Chitór. See Fergusson's "History of Architecture," and Thomas's "Chronicles of the Pathán Kings," p. 254. He claimed to have captured Mahmúd of Málwah; see Tod's "Rájasthán," vol. i. ch. 8.

that the Sultán was sleeping. "Wake him," he said. The servants replied that they dared not do so. The *wazír* entered the king's bed-room and pressed his feet. The Sultán started up and said, "What is it?" The *wazír* replied, "It is your slave, Sha'bán." The Sultán asked if there was any news. Sha'bán answered, "Yes." "Tell it at once," said the Sultán, and the *wazír* said: "The news has just come that the accursed Kómbhá, in violation of his oath, is again marching against Nágór; let the order be given this moment for the alarm to be beaten, and ride outside the city with your troops. Then the Ráná, as soon as he hears of it, will at once march back and will not attempt this place again. Otherwise the mischief will spread far and wide. Now is the time to devise means to stop it." The king said, "I have a sick head-ache,* and am unable to ride." The *wazír* said, "You can go in a *pálkí*." So the Sultán got into a *pálkí* and commanded the march towards Kómbhálmír at once. The Ráná's spies informed him of this movement, and he, on hearing of it, returned to his country.

In 862† (A.D. 1458) Kutb-ud-dín the Sultán moved to

* The expression used signifies a head-ache produced by drunkenness. Firishtah says that the Sultán could not be got out of his capital at all; but that 'Imád-ul-Mulk moved the troops on one march; but the troops were not equipped for the campaign till after a month's halt there, and says that Kutb-ud-dín returned to Ahmadábád when the Ráná withdrew. The "Táríkh" gives nearly the same story, but puts it in 862 A.H., and makes the Sultán continue his march in spite of the Ráná's withdrawal, and connects this affair with the foray against Siróhí, mentioned in the next paragraph of the text. The "Tab. Akbarí" separates the two events, and places the first in 861 A.H., making the Sultán return to Ahmadábád, and says that he moved against Siróhí at the *commencement* of 862 A.H.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" speaks of this campaign as follows: Kutb-ud-dín marched towards Siróhí with the intention of punishing Kómbhá; the Rájah of Siróhí, who was a near relative of Ráná Kómbhá fled to the hills (this was not, apparently, Khatíá Déórah), and the Sultán for the third time burnt Siróhí, and plundered the towns (in the neighbourhood). He then sent a detachment to lay waste the territories of the Ráná Kómbhá, and himself moved upon Kómbhálmír. On his way he heard that Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí had marched upon Chitór by way of Mandisór, and had occupied all the districts dependent on it. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín pushed on straight in pursuit of Ráná Kómbhá, and shut him up in Kómbhálmír. After the lapse of some time he discovered that to reduce the fort would be a very difficult business, so he raised the siege and marched towards Chitór. After ravaging the country in that neighbourhood he returned to Ahmadábád. To every soldier

Siróhí, and from thence he entered the country of the Ráná, and having laid it waste, returned home. The Sultán was now in the decline of life,* and on the 20th of Rajab† he died. He had reigned eight years, six months, and thirteen days.

It is related that when the daughter of Jám Jún of Sind‡ gave birth to Fateh Khán, another daughter (of the Jám) was married to Sháh 'A'lam. She also had children.§ Sháh Bhíkan was her son. When the Sultán's wife told her sister the news, the latter begged Sháh 'A'ḷam to send for the boy to her house, lest any harm should happen to him. Fateh Khán's mother kept him most carefully in that house; but they were in perpetual anxiety for fear of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín. At last one day Sultán Kutb-ud-dín in an idle moment bethought him of Fateh Khán, and asked where he was; they told him that he was with his maternal aunt in the house of Sháh 'A'lam, and that the Saint treated him with the utmost regard. On hearing this the Sultán became jealous and angry, and took a dislike to Fateh Khán. One day he sent a message to the Saint, which revealed his real intentions, to the effect that, whether he liked it or not, he was to send Fateh Khán to the

who lost a horse during the campaign he paid its value from his own treasury, and made careful inquiry into the circumstances of his men. Ráná Kómbhá sent messengers after the Sultán begging forgiveness for his offences. The Sultán granted pardon and sent the messengers back happy. In the year 863 A.H. he again prepared to take the field, but fell ill. The account of Firishtah is an abstract of this account. The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" follows the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" in making the last expedition against Siróhí, the continuation of Kutb-ud-dín's effort when roused by the Ráná's march to Nágór. As stated in note || p. 151, the Ráná has given his version of these occurrences on the magnificent "pillar of victory," which he erected as a memorial of them at Chitór. See Fergusson's "History of Architecture," vol. ii. p. 635.

* This sentence, as it stands, is unintelligible. The Sultán was (as the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" expressly says) only twenty-eight years and a few months old; perhaps it merely means "his health began to break up," as was likely, from his debauched habits, to be the case.

† This is the date given in the lithographed edition, and fits in with the dates of Dáúd's accession and deposition, but all the MSS. have "3rd Rajab."

‡ Jám Jún may perhaps be the king called Raidán in the MSS. of the "Táríkh-i-Ma'asúní." The date would suit, and the spelling of the name seems to be doubtful ("Mahomedan History," vol. i. p. 230).

§ In what follows the language is slightly condensed, and one unmeaning anecdote, a very short one, is omitted.

Sultán.* Sháh 'A'lam replied that the boy had, in fear of his life, sought refuge with the darvéshes, and that it would not be becoming in them to seize him and make him over to the Sultán. "You," he said, "are lord, but in any case he is still your brother." The Sultán sent spies to watch, and himself left the city and moved out to the palace of Malik Núr,† which was near Rasúlábád, where the Saint lived, that he might be at hand to seize Fateh Khán when his spies brought him information of him. On one occasion he sent Rání Rúp Mánjarí, his favourite wife, who was a disciple of Sháh 'A'lam's, with a party of eunuchs to visit the Saint, and desired her to inquire for Fateh Khán and to bring him away, and if she saw him she was to seize him and carry him off. The Rání saw Fateh Khán sitting by the Saint, and she ran to him, seized him by the hand, and tried to drag him away. The Saint smiled and said, "To-day, Bíbí, you take Fateh Khán by the hand, but one day he shall take you by the hand." [Eventually, on the death of Kutb-ud-dín, Rání Rúp Mánjarí was married to Fateh Khán, who, on his accession to the throne, was entitled Mahmúd Sháh, and so the Saint's prediction was fulfilled.] When she heard this the Rání let Fateh Khán go, and excused herself to Sháh 'A'lam. She came to the King and said, "I found him, but I did not get him."

Another day the spies brought intelligence that Fateh Khán was in a certain chamber reading to Sháh 'A'lam. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín at once mounted a fleet horse, and, galloping up, was about to enter in haste, when one of the doorkeepers, named Mukbil, stopped him. "Do you stop me in paying my respects to the Saint?" the Sultán cried with a loud voice. When Sháh 'A'lam heard it, he called out: "Mukbil, let him pass!" and he said to Fateh Khán, "From a young man

* This fact shows something of the social position of these holy men, and both exemplifies and explains to some extent the great political influence which they seem to have exercised.

† Some MSS. have, instead of Malik Núr, "Wahídpúr"; others, "Kamadpúr," and "Kahídpúr."

become a little old one." At once Fateh Khán's appearance was changed, and to Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's eyes he appeared an old man, with white beard and eyebrows and a bent back. Fateh Khán was then ten years old. Sultán Kutb-ud-dín sat down on the carpet for a few minutes, and cast his eyes all over the chamber, but could see no one except the Saint and the old man. So he was ashamed and went away, and rebuked his spies.

[Sultán Mahmúd used to say,*] In those days they were accustomed to dress me in girl's clothes, lest anyone should see me accidentally, for the search after me on behalf of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín was extremely active. One day I was hidden on the top of a house with my nurse; spies gave information to the Sultán, and he ran up intending to kill me. They told the Saint, who only said, "It is ill done, but how will he take the *tiger*?" The Sultán took me by the hand, and my nurse cried out, "This is the daughter of so-and-so, a Bukhárí Sáíd." The Sultán loosed my dress, and seeing that my person was that of a girl, let me go. He went away and told his boon companions, who said, "You should in any case have brought the child away"; so he returned and took me by the hand, when my hand assumed the appearance of a *tiger's* paw. The Sultán dropped it at once, and ceased to pursue me any more.

After this the Sultán's ill-feeling against Sháh 'A'lam increased day by day, but he did not openly display it. At last, Bíbí Mirgí, the Saint's wife, died, and he sent this message to Bíbí Moghalí: "While your sister was alive, a marriage between us was unlawful; now it is expedient that you accept another house here in exchange for your own." On receiving this message, Bíbí Moghalí was much disturbed, and overcome with care and grief; but the Jám Jónán† of Sind, who

* These words are necessary though they do not appear in the text, as the Sultán is made to speak in the first person. This story occurs in all the best texts of the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," otherwise it might seem that the passage was an interpolation.

† "Jám Fíróz" in some MSS., which also give her father's name as Jám Jámán, the Jám Jún before mentioned. The passage is a little doubtful, as the MSS. differ; but the meaning seems to be that the Jám interfered and

was her uncle, expressed to her that, in the first place, both her father and her mother had originally designed her for Sháh 'A'lam. The fact was that Jám Jaunán had two daughters, Bíbí Moghalí, and Bíbí Mirgí. Bíbí Mirgí he betrothed to Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, and Bíbí Moghalí to Sháh 'A'lam. Sultán Muhamad heard of the great beauty of Bíbí Moghalí, and partly by force, and partly by bribes, got the Jám's envoys to give Bíbí Moghalí to him, and to make over Bíbí Mirgí to Sháh 'A'lam. Sháh 'A'lam complained to his father, Burhán-ud-dín, who said, "My son, it is fated that you should marry both of them." Eventually the Saint conceived an affection for Bíbí Moghalí; so his father's words came true, for he married her. She waited upon him, as if desperately in love with him, or like a slave girl, and he, charmed with her sweet disposition and great beauty, grew very fond of her. It so happened that one day, being on such easy terms with him, she went into his private room and laid her face against his curly hair. When he felt it he expressed himself greatly delighted, and told her to ask for anything she wished. She said: "Fateh Khán desires to be established in the place of his ancestors. If it be an unbecoming desire, pardon it, for it is mine also." The Saint replied: "It has been already determined that Fateh Khán shall have the kingdom of Gujarát, and this will shortly come to pass; and, certainly, if he had done anything unbecoming, for your sake I would pardon all."

When Bíbí Moghalí was married to Sháh 'A'lam, the Sultán Kutb-ud-dín took it very ill; and what was already in his heart began to show itself, and he commenced to quarrel with the Saint and to complain of him. One day, when excited with wine, he mounted his horse and gave orders to plunder Rasúlábád. Men collected in knots, and looked at each other;

recommended the marriage. The chronology, however, does not seem to suit the alleged intervention of Jám Fíróz. Apparently, if the story be true, the two Jáms should be Jám Saugar and Jám Nanda, or Nizám-ud-dín.

but no one would begin. The Sultán himself set the example, and galloping his horse about, by tongue and hand he urged on the plunder of the town. God Almighty so ordained that an infuriated camel appeared; the King slashed at it with his sword but missed it, and cut his own knee; he fell from his horse, and they put him into a *pálkí* and carried him to his palace. He died on the third day.* People say that this was not really a camel, but the Angel of Death who assumed the form of the camel. Indeed, it is commonly said that it was a phantom camel which appeared on that day. They say, too, that the sword was the same weapon which Sháh 'Á'lam gave to Sultán Kutb-ud-dín when he went out to do battle with Mahmúd Khiljí, as has been already related above.

Other accounts are given of his death. It is said that one day he wanted to take his ladies to view the city of Ahmadábád, and gave orders that every male should go out of the city. He took his ladies from street to street, when suddenly he saw a man. In a great rage he drew his sword and struck at him, but the man slipped away, and the King cut his own knee. The wound caused his death.

Another story is, that his wound was painful and got worse and worse. One day, while in agony, he looked from an upper room of his palace, which stood on the banks of the Sábar. He saw a wood-cutter with a great bundle of wood, which he carried over the river, with great difficulty, on his head. On reaching the bank, he threw down his load, drew out a dry crust from his waist-cloth, and pulling up a few onions he ate them with great relish and enjoyment, and drank water from the river to his satisfaction. Then he fell asleep in the shade of a tree. The King exclaimed, "Oh, that I could give my

* Neither the "Tab. Akbarí," Firishtah, or the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," ascribe Kutb-ud-dín's death to anything save natural causes. The first named, indeed, particularly says that when taken ill he went to Batóh, to the Saint "Kutb 'Á'lam," and prayed for a son, but was informed in reply that he should be succeeded by his brother. These tales, told by the author of the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," are clearly intended to glorify the darvéshes generally and the Bukhárí Sáíds in particular.

sovereignty to this wood-cutter, and that I might have his health and his labour."

The author of the "Bahádar Sháhí" states that the daughter of Shams Khán, wife of the Sultán, at the instigation of her father, poisoned the Sultán, in order that Shams Khán might obtain the kingdom of Gujarát. When the Sultán was at the point of death his nobles killed Shams Khán,* and his mother gave orders for the handmaids to tear the wife to pieces. It seems impossible to reconcile the common stories and the statement in the "Bahádar Sháhí." It may be that after the King was wounded the poison was administered. But God knows the truth.†

* Some MSS. of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" say that the Sultán gave the order himself, and make him assign as a reason that his death was brought about by the machinations of the darvéshes—insinuating that Shams Khán was their tool. But the majority of MSS. run as in the text, and this form of the story obtains alike in the "Tab. Akbarí," Firishtah, and "Táríkh-i-Alfí."

† The "Tab. Akbarí" adds that he was buried in the mausoleum of Muhamad Sháh, to which some copies add, "in the Mánik Chók." This would, of course, be the *khatírah* of Muhamad II., his father. Firishtah also says he was buried in Muhamad Sháh's mausoleum. The "Tab. Akbarí" praises his valour, but says that in anger, and, especially when under the influence of liquor, he was reckless in shedding blood, and that he did many cruel things.

CHAPTER VII.

SULTÁN DÁÚD, A RELATIVE OF SULTÁN KUTB-UD-DÍN.

On the third day after the death of Kutb-ud-dín, he was succeeded by one of his relations,* Sultán Dáúd Sháh, who ascended the throne by the choice of the *wazírs* and *amírs*. He ascended the throne on the 23rd day of Rajab, and was dethroned at the close of the month. He had hardly obtained authority when he held out to a carpet-spreader, who had been his neighbour before he attained to the throne, the hope of obtaining the title of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, notwithstanding that the noble 'Imád-ul-Mulk was his permanent *wazír*. About the same time he promised to elevate another low fellow to the title of Burhán-ul-Mulk, although Burhán-ul-Mulk was the *amír-ul-umrá* of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, and was alive and well. These two base fellows allowed their expectations to become known, and the ministers and great nobles said, "If he does such things before his authority is established, what will he do afterwards?" He got together all the plate and the rich stuffs manufactured (for the king) in the reign of Sultán Ahmad, and he instituted an inquiry into most trifling accounts,† from the beginning of the reign of Sultán Muzaffar, and caused the

* The two best MSS., A and Hydr., have this reading; the lithograph and the other three MSS. have Dáúd, the son of Sultán Ahmad.

† The expression literally is, "into the accounts of dried figs and oranges"! Muzaffar Sháh began his reign (as Sultán) more than fifty years before this time!

balances to be paid into his own treasury. The first order which he gave was for reducing the grain of the pigeons and the oil of the lamps.

When the nobles saw this, they said, "A character like this is unfit for the kingdom of Gujarát," and they determined upon raising to the throne Fateh Khán, half-brother of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, who bore the marks of dignity and majesty on his brow. They deputed 'Alá-ul-Mulk bin Suhráb to communicate with Her Majesty Bíbí Moghalí, mother of Fateh Khán. The Bíbí at first refused,* but 'Alá-ul-Mulk urged that there was no one else worthy of the throne of Gujarát, and that she ought to accede to the proposal. In the end 'Alá-ul-Mulk placed Fateh Khán on horseback and conducted him in royal state towards the Bhadar. (The people of Gujarát call the royal palace "Bhadar.") The ministers and nobles came forth to meet him, and, having saluted him as king, they gave him the title of Sultán Mahmúd Sháh and offered their congratulations. When they reached the Bhadar, the noise of the drums and trumpets reached the ears of Sultán Dáúd, and he inquired what had happened. They told him that the nobles had made Fateh Khán king, and were bringing him to take his seat on the royal throne. Sultán Dáúd got out of a window facing the river Sábar, and went into hiding. He reigned only seven days. It is related that he entered as an inquirer into the monastery of Shékh Adhan Rúmí, and became his attendant; in a short time he obtained advancement (in spiritual rank). He soon afterwards died.

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí," because she did not consider him equal to the duties of the position.

CHAPTER VIII.

REIGN OF SULTÁN MAHMÚD BÍGARHA.

SULTA'N DI'N-PANA'H MAHMU'D ascended the throne on a Sunday, the first Sha'bán, H. 863 (18th of June, A.D. 1459). He added glory and lustre to the kingdom of Gujarát, and was the best of all the Gujarát kings, including all who preceded, and all who succeeded him; and whether for abounding justice and generosity, for success in religious war, and for the diffusion of the laws of Islám and of Musulmáns; for soundness of judgment, alike in boyhood, in manhood, and in old age; for power, for valour, and victory—he was a pattern of excellence.

It is said that in the Hindúí language, as spoken by the Hindús of Gujarát, they call a bullock *Bígarh*, because its horns stretch out right and left like the arms of a person about to embrace. The moustachios of the Sultán were straight and long like these horns, hence he obtained the cognomen Bígarha. Some say that in Hindúí *bí* means "two," and *garh* "a fort." The Sultán took the forts of Júnáhgarh and Chámpánír, and from the conquest of these two forts he was called Bígarha.*

* This word is written in the Persian بیگڑہ *Bígarh* or *Bigarha*. The second etymology above given suits this spelling exactly, as it would make the word come from the Gujarátí (or Hindí) words वि *vi* (the Sanskrit द्वि *dvi*), "two," and गढ *gaḍh* (pronounced *garh*), "a fort," in which latter word, as in the name, the vowel *a* is short. The other etymology, which the author seems to prefer, and which is adopted by Aurangzíb, the "Tab. Akbarí," and by

Notwithstanding his high dignity and royalty, he had an enormous appetite. The full daily allowance of food for the Sultán was one *man* Gujarát weight. In eating this he put aside five *sírs* of boiled rice,* and before going to sleep he used to make it up into a pasty and place one half of it on the right-hand side of his couch and the other half on the left, so that on whichever side he awoke he might find something to eat, and might then go to sleep again. He used thus to eat several times every night. In the morning, after saying his prayers, he took a cup full of honey and a cup of butter, with a hundred or a hundred and fifty golden plantains (or banánas). He often used to say, "If God had not raised Mahmúd to the throne of Gujarát who would have satisfied his hunger?"

He was thirteen years, two months, and three days old when he began to reign. After the manner of his ancestors,

the early European traveller Varthenck, would seem to derive it from *bi*, as above, and the Gujarátí (or Hindí) गाढ *gáḍha* (pronounced *gáṛha*), of which Professor Bühler writes as follows:—"गाढ is a Sanskrit word, the past perfect participle of the verb गाह् 'to submerge,' 'to penetrate.' It is used as an adjective, and means 'strong,' 'close,' 'excessive,' *e.g.* as in the common phrase, 'a close embrace' गाढम् आलिङ्गनम् (*gáḍham álinganam* or *gáṛham álinganam*). It occurs in these and some other meanings in all the modern Prákrits, in Gujarátí as well as in Maráthí and Hindí. But I do not find in the dictionaries the meaning 'intimate friend.' However, I think it would be correct to say *gáḍha mitra*, 'a firm or intimate friend.'" Thus it would seem the word Bigárha might be used in the sense of "a double embrace," or, perhaps, of "two intimates," *i.e.* intimate friends. Sir B. Frere has heard it used as meaning "an intimate friend" (though but rarely) in Gujarát, and in Kinloch Forbes's "Rás Mála," a man's name is given as *Veguroo* (*i.e.* Bigarú), which is rendered as "the long-horned bull" ("Rás Málá," vol. i. p. 359, 1st ed.). This carries the application of the term a step further in the direction indicated by the author. The shortening or "clipping" of a long vowel in the course of descent is not a very fatal objection to the derivation of a word in any of the "modern Prákrits," from a Sanskrit original; and it is to be remembered that in *this* case the word has been transliterated into Persian, and the long vowel, even if it existed, might easily (especially if not strongly accentuated), have been dropped in the process. On the whole, therefore, while the second etymology is best suited to the modern orthography, the first is not in itself improbable, and is supported by a strong preponderance of evidence.

* One *man*, Gujarát weight, equivalent to fifteen Bahlólí *sírs* ("Mirát-i-Ahmadí"). A similar legend exists as to the celebrated Abu-l-Fazl, only his allowance is said to have been twenty-two *sírs*! See Blochmann (on the authority of the Másir-ul-Umrá), "A'ín-i-Akbarí," Introduction, p. xxviii.

he bestowed gifts and honours upon his soldiers, and he gave titles to several persons.

When some months had passed, some misguided nobles, whose names were Kabír-ud-dín Sultání, entitled Burhán-ul-Mulk, Maulána Khizr, entitled Safí-ul-Mulk, Hámid bin Isma'íl, entitled 'Azd-ul-Mulk, and Khwájah Muhamad, entitled Hisám-ul-Mulk, entered into a conspiracy against 'Imád-ul-Mulk, whose name was Malik Sha'bán, and aimed at depriving him of power. One morning they went to the door of the Sultán's private apartments before 'Imád-ul-Mulk got there, and said that 'Imád-ul-Mulk was meditating treason, and was intent upon raising his own son, Shaháb-ud-dín, to the throne, after which he would do whatever he pleased. "We," said they, "are the cherished dependants of your throne, and how can we connive at such proceedings? It behoves your Majesty to probe the matter to the bottom." The Sultán asked what it meant, and they told him his (own) death or close confinement. The Sultán kept silence. When 'Imád-ul-Mulk came to the Sultán's apartment these nobles seized him,* placed a collar on his neck, and fetters on his feet, and, giving him in charge of five hundred of their own trusted followers, they directed them to keep him under guard on the roof of the *darbár* called Bhadar.† Having thus succeeded to their hearts' content, they went home and gave themselves up to enjoyment.

* According to Firishtah the Sultán dissembled when he ordered the arrest of his minister; but the language of the other accounts seems hardly to warrant this assertion. If there be any truth in the accounts which have thus come down to us, Mahmúd behaved with a degree of courage and resolution very marvellous for a boy of his age, although no doubt most Indian boys of that age would be considered precocious in intellect if they were European boys. Still, it is incredible that he should have attained such maturity of judgment and dissimulation as at once to have decided on his course of action, and to have deceived a number of men of the world regarding it. He was probably uncertain what to do at first, and allowed (or ordered) the arrest, but, when he had been more fully informed, took his part decidedly and bravely.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," Imád-ul-Mulk was confined "on the roof of the Ahmadábád *gate* of the Bhadar," which makes the story clearer.

When the night set in, 'Abdulláh, the master of the elephants,* told the Sultán that the apprehension of 'Imád-ul-Mulk was not in the interest of the State, because the nobles who were friendly to him were preparing for flight, and the refractory nobles were keeping Habíb Khán, the Sultán's uncle, son of Ahmad Sháh, in their charge, and intended, at a fitting opportunity, to raise a revolt against the Sultán and to place Habíb Khán upon the throne.† On hearing this statement the Sultán told this to his mother. She sent for 'Abdulláh; and the Sultán, after administering binding oaths, told him to speak; and 'Abdulláh repeated what he had before stated. The Sultán summoned some of his most faithful servants, Malik Hájí, Malik Kálú, and Malik 'Aín, who were the most important and most loyal of his supporters, and consulted with them. It was resolved to release 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and to give the houses of the artful treacherous nobles up to *halán* (that is to say, to plunder), that they might reap the reward of their own acts.

The Sultán ordered 'Abdulláh to bring all the elephants fully equipped to the *darbár*. After that he took his seat upon the throne, and told Sharf-ul-Mulk to bring "that traitor 'Imád-ul-Mulk from his prison-house to receive punishment, and to be made a warning for others." Sharf-ul-Mulk proceeded on his errand, but the guards appointed by the *amírs* would not obey the Sultán's command. Sharf-ul-Mulk returned and reported the state of affairs. The Sultán himself then took action. He went to the top of a tower of the Bhadar, and with angry tone and loud voice commanded them to bring forth Sha'bán 'Imád-ul-Mulk. When the guards heard the voice of the Sultán, they had no option save to take the Malik out of the place where he was confined, and to bring him. The Sultán ordered them to take him upstairs, that he might ask

* "Master of the elephants,"—the text calls him *sháhnah* the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" *dárógháh* of the elephants.

† The accession of Habíb Khán was, according to Firishtah and "Táríkh-i-Alfí," the real object of this plot.

the traitor why he had conceived such a design, regardless of the Sultán's wrath. When they reached the upper story, he ordered them to take the fetters off the Malik's feet. As soon as the guards perceived the turn which affairs had taken, several of them ran off to inform the *amírs*, and others stood humbly* before the Sultán and stated that they had imprisoned the Malik by order of the Sultán, and that what they had done under his command was no fault of theirs. The Sultán reassured them.

When morning broke, the Sultán took his seat upon the roof of the Bhadar, and intelligence reached the disaffected *amírs*, who assembled their adherents in arms and moved in order of battle towards the gate of the *darbár*. Altogether, with the nobles and personal followers, there were three hundred men in attendance on the King. Some of them said, "Let us get out of the windows towards the river Sábar, and escape to some place whence, after collecting a force, we may return." The King stood firm and lent no ear to these cowards By this time the *amírs* were close to the gate of the *darbár*. Malik Sha'bán, Hájí Malik, and Malik Kálú suggested that an order should be given for the elephant-drivers to charge upon this rout of rebels, and they will all fly together. The Sultán gave orders that the five or six hundred elephants should charge all at once.† The enemy's force was panic-struck, and the *amírs* fled. Their soldiers cast away their arms, dispersed, and crept into their houses, and the *amírs* made their way out of the city and scattered in different directions.

Hisám-ul-Mulk went off towards Pattan, where his brother,

* Literally "with their hands joined," *i.e.* in an attitude of supplication.

† According to Firishtah, who quotes a certain "Hájí Muhamad Kandahárí," the Sultán had only two hundred elephants, and himself accompanied the charge with his bow and arrows. This seems improbable; but the fact that in the narrow streets the superior numbers of the rebels availed nothing against the elephants is a valid explanation of their easy defeat, the rather, as he explains, that the elephants were also used to hold the various approaches to the palace.

Rukn-ud-dín, was *Mír-gúí*.* Kabír-ud-dín 'Azd-ul-Mulk took refuge in a ravine of the river Sábar.† There he was recognised by a Rájpút whose brother he had put to death. This man cut off his head and brought it to the Sultán, and it was hung up at the gate of the city. Burhán-ul-Mulk was corpulent and could not fly. He went on the other side of the river, by way of Sarkhéj, to a place which is now called Fattehpúr. There he turned his horse loose and endeavoured to conceal himself. A eunuch who had been to pay a visit to the tomb of Shékh Ahmad Khattú, recognised him, made him prisoner, and took him to the Sultán, who ordered him to be thrown under the feet of elephants. Mauláná Khizr Safí-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner and sent to Díú to be kept in confinement. But as he was an old friend of Malik Sha'bán, that nobleman induced the Sultán to pardon him. He was recalled from Díú and a pension settled upon him.‡

The Sultán had now attained his fourteenth year, but acting with the vigour of a man of ripe years he sent his enemies into the realms of non-existence, and righted those who sought for justice. From that time to the end of his life his orders carried such authority that no one dared to disobey. When the rebels had thus trodden the road of annihilation the injured were redressed. Malik Hájí was created 'Azd-ul-Mulk and was appointed 'A'riz of the kingdom, Malik Tóghán became Farhat-ul-Mulk, Malik Bahá-ud-dín was made Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk, Malik 'Ain was promoted to the title of Nizám-ul-Mulk, Malik Sa'd was made Burhán-ul-Mulk, Malik Kálú became 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Malik Sárang was made Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, and after a time he was promoted to the dignity of Kiwám-ul-Mulk.§

* *Mírgúí*. The "Tab. Akbarí" says *Kotwál*.

† Went among the *grásiahs* with only one attendant.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Malik Sha'bán, after the suppression of the rebellion and his own success, resigned the *wazír's* office, and retired into private life with a pension.

§ The MSS. C. D. alone say 'Azd-ul-Mulk was appointed 'A'riz-ul-Mamálik, but it is confirmed by the "Tab. Akbarí."

Fifty-two other officers received titles, and *mansabs* and *parganahs* were settled upon them.

After a short time an army was raised, twice as large as that of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín. Gujarát now entered upon a new and unexampled course of prosperity, the army was well off, the people contented; darvéshes worshipped God with hearts at ease, traders safely carried on a profitable trade, the country was everywhere full of peace and security, and the roads were free from robbers. No one had any cause of complaint, and everyone revelled without care in prosperity.

A rule was established by the Sultán* that if an *amír* or any soldier was killed in battle or died a natural death, his *jágír* was confirmed to his son; if there was no son, half of the *jágír* was given to the daughter; and if there was no daughter, a suitable provision was settled upon the dependants, so that there might be no ground of complaint. It is said that a person once told the King that the son of a deceased *amír* was not worthy of his position. The King answered, "The position will make him worthy." No one ever made such a remark again.

The reason for the contented condition of the cultivators was that a *jágír* could not be taken away from the holder, unless he was harsh and tyrannical. When regulations were laid down there was no deviation from them. In the course of the reign of Mahmúd the Martyr,† certain experts of his ministers made an inquiry into the state of the resources of the country. In some cases they found an increase of ten-fold, and in no village was it less than two or three-fold. Traders were contented, because traffic on the roads was perfectly safe and secure; there were no thieves or robbers in the days of Sultán Mahmúd. Ministers of religion were satisfied, because the Sultán was their disciple and devoted follower,

* This rule probably applied only to those who were killed, or died while in the field, or died of wounds, or sickness contracted on a campaign.

† *i.e.* Mahmúd III.

and every year he bestowed increased allowances and pensions on them in recognition of his victories, and their allowances were paid in whatever place they wished. Fine *saráís* and inns were built for the accommodation of travellers, and splendid colleges and mosques were raised. The artizans were contented because the Sultán was perfectly just and generous and righteous, and no man had the power of injuring or threatening to injure another. Men high and low are agreed, that among all the kings of Gujarát there never was one like Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha; for during his reign nothing was done in Gujarát which was inconsistent with right and justice, security and prosperity. He conquered two great forts, Júnáhgarh in the country of Sórath, and Chámpánír, with its dependencies. In both he abolished the customs of the infidels and introduced the laws of Islám; therefore, until the Day of Judgment he will have credit for everyone that was circumcised and embraced Islám, in accordance with the text, "He who causes the circumcision of another produces circumcision also in himself." The Sultán was the cause of their turning to Islám, and assuredly the circumcision of that people stands inscribed against his name in the great book of account. It is generally admitted that Sultán Bahádar, his grandson, exceeded him in military glory, but he had not the same ability in administration. As regards the combination of capacity for both, Sultán Mahmúd was without a peer. What a glorious age was that of Sultán Mahmúd!

Sultán Husén Mírza,* a ruler endowed with brilliancy and liberality, sat on the throne of Khórásán, and his *wazír* was that most incomparable of *wazírs*, Mír 'Alí Shér, and the chief *mullá* was Mouláná Hájí, beloved for his elegance and renowned for his learning. In Dehlí Sultán Sikandar bín Bahlól Lódi was king, and his *wazír* was Mián Bhuwáksh Lohání, who excelled in prudence and soundness of judgment. Sultán

* Husén Mírza Báíkrah, whose descendants had a good deal to do with the affairs of Gujarát.

Ghiás-ud-dín, son of Mahmúd Khiljí, reigned in Mandú with order and liberality. In the Dakhin, Mahmúd Sháh Bahmaní governed, and the office of his *wazír* was filled by Malik Nishán,* the teacher of the great, the inventor of the rules of administration. It might be said that the spirit of Sultán Mahmúd Ghaznaví, after many years, had animated the soul of Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha, for all his deeds and actions were like those of that glorious monarch.

It is said that one day, in the royal presence, Khudáwand Khán, known as Malik 'Ilím (the learned *malik*), who was the father-in-law of Sultán Muhamad, who had a great knowledge of poetry, and was himself very eloquent, put into the Sultán's hands a copy of the writings of Háfiz, and invited him to try for a *fa'l* or omen. The book opened at an ode which promised to the person to whom it was addressed kingly honour, success, glory, and victory. The nobles were all delighted at this auspicious result, and expressed their congratulations, quoting also some verses from the *Bostán* of Sa'dí, enjoining the practice of virtue and religious duties. The King's son (*i.e.* Mahmúd, then Fateh Khán), stood up and replied by repeating verses of a similar character, which wound up by saying that a king should so live as to gain "the prayers of the servant and the testimony of the *muhtasib* (a Muhamadan officer who is supposed to be a species of *censor morum*). The *muhtasib* himself was present, and the King in pronouncing the word "*muhtasib*" pointed to him. Everybody was delighted at the felicitous reply, especially Khudáwand Khán and his son, who sent presents and complimentary dresses to the persons who were present.†

It is said that during his reign corn never rose to a high price. Everything was cheap during his rule—the people of

* The texts differ considerably as to these two names. Probably Muhamad Sháh Bahmaní and his minister, Malik Gáwán, are intended.

† This anecdote is translated in a condensed form, and the quotations, which are of no historical interest, are omitted. The story is palpably apocryphal, for Mahmúd was certainly not more than six years old when his father died, and in Kutb-ud-dín's court he was never present.

Gujarát never saw such cheapness again. His army, like the armies of Changéz Khán the Moghal, never suffered defeat, but fresh victories and immeasurable triumphs were constantly won. He established a rule that no soldier should borrow money upon usury, and he appointed treasurers in different places, who were to advance money to soldiers in need of loans, and take from them a promise (to pay). Through this rule usurers led the life of dogs, or rather they were looked upon as worse than dogs. The Sultán used to say, "If Musulmáns borrow money upon interest and usury, how can they be expected to fight?" In consequence of this kind consideration and worthy bounty, God Almighty always gave his armies the victory.

The abundance of fruit trees—such as mango, the date palm, the *khirní*,* the cocoa-nut, the *jáman*,† *bél*,‡ fig, *mhówah*,§ &c.—in Gujarát, is owing to the kindness and efforts of this great sovereign. Every cultivator who planted trees in his land received encouragement, so people planted trees and raised plants every year with increased zeal. If he saw any beggar who had planted a fig, a *pípal*,‖ or other tree by the road-side or at the door of his hut, he would draw rein and stop. Having called the planter to him, he would ask him in a kind manner, "Where do you get water from?" If he answered, "I bring it from far, and it is troublesome to get it," he would order a well to be made there and would assist in the expense; and he would say, "If you plant many trees you will receive fresh rewards." The garden of Firdós, which is five *kós* in length and one in breadth, was formed by this praiseworthy king; and the garden of Sha'bán, which rivals the gardens of Paradise, was laid out in his reign. If in any city or town or village he saw a shop empty or a house in ruins, he would ask

* *Khirní*, "Mimusops kauki."
† *Jáman*, "Calyptranthes caryophyllifolia," or "Eugenia jambolana."
‡ *Bél*, "Ægle marmelos."
§ *Mhówah*, "Bassia latifolia."
‖ *Pípal*, "Ficus religiosa."

the head men or the accountants the reason, and would provide what was needed for its restoration.

It is said* that in the latter part of his life the Sultán employed himself largely in religious exercises; he became very gentle in spirit, and often wept bitterly. One day Malik Sárang,† known as Kiwám-ul-Mulk (who built Sárang-púrah, which stands outside the walls of Ahmadábád on the eastern side) said to him, "You have attained kingly power and dignity, wherefore do you weep?" The Sultán replied, "Ah, silly one, what shall I say? My patron Sháh 'A'lam used to say, 'In the end‡ Mahmúd shall be praised'; but though I am hasting to my end, I do not find that in myself; and the stream of my life, moment by moment, is continually running away, and once gone never returns. I deeply regret that I cannot fully understand the Shékh's value. As the proverb says, 'When I could I did not know, and now when I know I cannot.'" At last, the Sultán joined himself to Shékh Siráj,§ who was the most perfect man of his day, and by his blessed teaching shook off this sorrow and depression. Shékh Siráj was the name of a darvésh who was one of the disciples of Shékh 'Alí Khatáb (the preacher), who was invested with the religious garb by Shékh Burhán-ud-dín, Kutb-ul-Kutáb. Shékh Siráj-ud-dín brought many heretics and sinners to repentance, and many who had gone astray resorted to him, and were put in the right way by the blessing of his teaching. He became very celebrated, and the Sultán one day inquired about him from Amín-ul-Mulk, who was his

* This anecdote and the next are given in a slightly abbreviated form.

† An account of Malik Sárang will be found later on, among the accounts of Mahmúd's chief nobles. He was a violent and turbulent man, who, under the weak rule of Muzaffar II., became very mischievous. Eventually his chief confederate, Malik Kóbi, was deservedly put to death by the latter king.

‡ This expression involves a sort of play upon words, and is, in the original, محمود عاقبت محمود خواهد بود; the phrase عاقبت محمود "praised in the end," seems to be a not unusual complimentary term applied to a person who has led an honourable life, and is applied to Ahmad I. and Mahmúd III. in the present work.

§ He is elsewhere called Shékh Siráj bin Shékh 'Azíz-ullah.

friend and disciple. Amín-ul-Mulk told him much about the Shékh, and the Sultán became very desirous of seeing him, and ordered Amín-ul-Mulk to come that night alone to a certain window of the palace looking over the Sabarmati. Amín-ul-Mulk did so, and the Sultán came out alone, holding a small sword in his hand, and said, "Show me the way to the Shékh's house"; so Amín-ul-Mulk went before, and the Sultán followed, till they reached the Shékh's dwelling. Amín-ul-Mulk went within and explained the affair to the Shékh, while the King stood without. The Shékh sent to invite the Sultán in, and, after the usual greetings, the Shékh, who was seated on an old bedstead (*chárpáíah*), beckoned to the King to be seated. The Sultán sat at his feet, and, after a short interval, said, "I have a request to make, and trust you will favour me with a reply." The Shékh answered, "Speak on." The Sultán then spoke thus: "I have been told that you are able to guide those who have erred, and gone astray from the truth, into the way of the commandments; if this be true, for the Lord's sake explain how it may be!" The Shékh answered, "If anyone is in sorrow, and asks for aid, a darvésh can give him the right advice." The Sultán laid his head at the Shékh's feet, saying, "Mahmúd is one of these sorrowful men. Oh Shékh! for the Lord's sake give me relief, raise me out of the corruptions of my personal infirmity, and teach me the path of righteousness." The Shékh said, "The umbrella of sovereignty is above your head. You bear the burden of administration on your shoulders. The first thing requisite, in order to follow the true way, is to resign all the advantages of sovereignty, that your work may be without any defect." The Sultán said that, if he could only gain acceptance with the Shékh, he would gladly lay down his government and abandon his kingly state, and serve the Shékh with a pure heart. The Shékh was greatly pleased, and said if a king governs justly his kingdom is no hindrance to him. He then told him to go away for the present, and that he would the

next day send him a message, which, if he obeyed it, would light his path like a lamp. The next morning early the Sultán sent Amín-ul-Mulk to the Shékh, and desired him to bring back word for word, neither more nor less, whatever the Shékh might say. Amín-ul-Mulk came to the Shékh, who told him that he found the Sultán to be an excellent man and a friend to the poor, and that he desired to cultivate an intimate friendship with him; for this reason he wished to enter into his service, and he desired Amín-ul-Mulk to tell the Sultán that, if he would appoint him to an office near his person, he would fulfil its duties to the best of his power. After some remonstrance, Amín-ul-Mulk returned, astonished and disturbed,* for he had highly praised the Shékh, and he was at a loss what to say now. However, as the King had enjoined him to repeat exactly what the Shékh had said, he told it all to the Sultán. The Sultán said that he consented, but desired him to inquire what office the Shékh desired. The Shékh said that he understood accounts, and should wish to be employed in the revenue office. The Sultán agreed, and next morning the Shékh, girding himself with a sword, and procuring a horse, rode off to the Sultán, and received the usual honorary dress of an auditor of accounts, and returned home. The people of the city, who held the Shékh in high estimation for his sanctity, were greatly scandalised, and said hard things, considering that the Shékh had, for worldly advantages, forfeited the merits of past years of holiness, and men said that he had only affected sanctity to gain the Sultán's friendship.

The Shékh went on waiting on the King, undisturbed for some days, but at last he said to Amín-ul-Mulk that the labour of coming in from his home to the Sultán was too much for him, as he was an old man; and he wished, therefore, the Sultán to assign him a home near himself. The Sultán assigned him a place near his own sleeping-apartments. The

* *i.e.* that the Shékh should appear to seek his own personal aggrandisement from the Sultán.

Shékh took up his abode there, and, thus concealed from all rivals, began to instruct the Sultán. After a short time the breeze from the garden of the glory of God reached the Sultán's soul, and the rose-bud of his heart began to unfold. On this, the Shékh requested his discharge, and returned to his former cell; but he told the Sultán that if ever he wished to see him he had only to send a messenger, or a letter, to him. The Sultán always remained the Shékh's firm disciple. The Saint's abode is said to have been in Shékhpúrah, in the environs of Ahmadábád. He is understood to have founded that hamlet.

It is said that, although the Sultán was not regularly instructed in the law, nevertheless, from friendship with the learned and constant association with scholars, he had come to understand a good deal about religious matters, the texts of the law, the traditions of the elders, and anecdotes of the saints and history; in fact, except those of his circle who were themselves learned, anyone would have supposed him to be a man of knowledge and reading. His natural intelligence and quickness of wit enabled him to settle difficult moot points. Thus, Ibn A'fras, the translator of a book on Shafá (*i.e.* the things which are lawful), used to mention to the Sultán delicate questions which arose during the translation. One of these was as follows: The Prophet is reported to have cursed a boy who had interrupted his devotions, and the boy is said to have been struck down by the Almighty on the spot, and to have been rendered incapable of moving. Some people affirmed this to be a valid tradition, others said it was not. It was argued that it was impossible *really* to disturb the Prophet's devotions, and secondly, that the Prophet would never have cursed anyone but an enemy. On the other hand, it is averred that Zaid bin 'Amrán* saw the boy (whose name was Yazíd bin Mahrán) at Thabák, and the boy himself gave the story as related. The Sultán decided that the tradition was a valid

* Some MSS. have Zaid ibn 'Umr-ibn-Madán.

one, for, said he, "the curse was uttered in furtherance of the work of God," quoting a verse recording a parallel case. The Ulemá all assented, and the tradition was inserted in the book, and is accepted as a valid tradition.

In the year H. 864 (A.D. 1460), the King went out on a hunting expedition towards the town of Kapparbanj. In that vicinity he held a review of his army, and after reading the *fátihah*, he said, "God willing, next year I will found a new city"; as, during the recital of the *fátihah*, his face was turned in the direction of Sórath, those who were men of the world came to the conclusion that the Sultán meditated an attack on Júnáhgarh. From thence he returned to Ahmadábád. In the following year, H. 865 (A.D. 1461), he again went to Kapparbanj, and in the course of his hunting he advanced as far as the frontier of Mandú, from whence he returned to Ahmadábád, and occupied himself in the administration of his kingdom. In the year H. 866 (A.D. 1462) he went out and encamped on the river Kahárí.* At that place he received a letter from Nizám Sháh, son of Humáiún Sháh of the Dakhin, which ran as follows: "Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, at the instigation of Nizám-ul-Mulk Ghórí,† who fled in the reign of Humáiún Sháh and attached himself to Mahmúd Khiljí, has led a numerous army against the Dakhin, and is plundering the country; for this reason I also have marched out forty *kós* from the city of Bidar, and am fronting him at the head of the *ghát*, and am looking with anxiety for the assistance of your Majesty, in the hope that you will come to my aid as quickly as possible."

Sultán Mahmúd, immediately on receiving this letter, marched towards the Dakhin, and on reaching Nandarbár he

* *Kahári*, "eleven *kós* from Ahmadábád."—"Tab. Akbarí." Nizám Sháh had only recently succeeded to the throne, and was little more than a child; he was managed mainly by his mother and the prime minister; but that state of things naturally gave rise to jealousy on the part of other nobles, and dissensions arose which tempted Mahmúd Khiljí, always unscrupulous, to attack him.

† For the history of this nobleman's flight, see Briggs' "Firishtah," vol. ii. p. 457.

received another letter from Nizám Sháh, stating that Mahmúd Khiljí had been rapid in his operations, that he himself had not shrunk from the conflict, and that accordingly a battle had been fought, in which Mahmúd was defeated, and the Dakhinís had captured fifty elephants. But while the victors were engaged in plundering, and Nizám Sháh had but few men round him, Mahmúd Khiljí, who had been lying in ambush with twelve thousand horse, returned to the attack, and, in spite of a strenuous resistance, gained the victory.* In the end, Sikandar Khán carried off Nizám Sháh from the field of battle to Bidar, and Mahmúd Khiljí pursued him thither and besieged the city. The letter concluded with saying that there was no hope of remedying the calamity except by the Sultán's aid, and made an urgent appeal for speedy assistance and deliverance.

The Sultán of Gujarát continued his march, and as soon as Mahmúd Khiljí learnt that he was advancing by way of Burhánpúr with a large army to the assistance of Nizám Sháh, he raised the siege of Bidar and set off for his own country by way of Góndwánah. The Rájah of Góndwánah was with Mahmúd Khiljí. He told him that in the way he was marching there was little water, much jungle, and many defiles. Still, in apprehension of the Sultán of Gujarát,† he determined to continue his march by that road, and pressed on hastily, making two days march into one. It is said that in one march

* All accounts agree practically in this story, though, in the Bahmaní history given by Firishtah, Sikandar Khán is blamed, and he fell into disfavour at the Bahmaní Court, as the defeat was attributed to his carrying off the prince. The Queen retired with Nizám Sháh to Fírózábád, whence the letter here mentioned, describing the loss of the battle, was despatched to Mahmúd of Gujarát.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Mahmúd of Gujarát took the line of Nandarbár and Asír purposely to cut off the retreat of the Málwah forces by that line, and that he took up his position at Thálnír also for that purpose. Firishtah (Briggs, vol. ii. p. 472) says that the Dakhiní troops occupied the line of retreat both by Berár and by Bir and Kandhár, and harassed his troops without hazarding a general action; and his troops suffered so much that they became mutinous, and it was for this reason he chose the Góndwánah route, and destroyed many of his elephants and burnt much of his baggage to prevent their falling into the enemy's hands.

six thousand men,* through want of water, became food for jackals and vultures. When he got into the narrow passes of Gondwánah, the Gonds came down upon him from all sides, and plundered his baggage. With many difficulties and great loss he extricated himself from that hilly country, and reached his own frontier. He then seized the Rájah of Gondwánah, and killed him. The Rájah pleaded that he had told the truth from the first, and had described the road, but it was of no avail.

On reaching the town of Thálnér, one of the dependencies of Burhánpúr, Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát reviewed his forces. It is credibly averred that never in the reign of any Sultán of Gujarát, or of any Sultán of those parts, had such an army been prepared and arrayed. He had with him seventy-three *amírs* of reputation. The whole country of Gujarát was appropriated to defraying the pay of the army.† For four years there was not one village under the Sultán's personal treasury,‡ but the expenditure of the Sultán's personal treasury was paid out of the sums accumulated by former kings. It is said that during these four years the accumulations of thirty years§ were spent in household expenses and in gifts.

On the retirement of Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí to his own country, Nizám Sháh sent ambassadors to wait upon Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát, who did not fail to express their master's thanks in ample terms, and then took their leave. The Sultán of Gujarát then returned to his capital.

In the year H 867 (A.D. 1463), Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí of

* The "Tab. Akbarí" reduces the loss to "over a thousand." Firishtah says "six thousand."

† *Tankhwáh-i-alúfah.* Practically this involved the whole cost of the army, for, in Eastern armies, the soldiers find their own arms, accoutrements, horses, supplies, &c.

‡ *Khálsah.* It is difficult to give any English term exactly equivalent to this word as here used; practically, it represents the portion of the revenue personally administered by the Sultán and his ministers at Court. The local payments for the army and civil administration, local religious and charitable payments, had all to be provided for before any surplus reached the central treasury.

§ Literally, "thirty treasures."

Málwah again marched towards the Dakhin with an army of ninety thousand horse, and ravaged the country as far as Daulatábád. Nizám Sháh once more solicited the help of the Sultán of Gujarát, who accordingly marched to Nandarbár. On hearing this, Mahmúd Khiljí fell back by the same road he had taken on his retreat before,* and went to his own country. Sultán Mahmúd of Gujarát also returned to his capital. Thence he wrote a letter to Mahmúd Khiljí, saying it was not the act of a good man continually to harass a Muhamadan country—he had better never think of doing so again; if, however, he did march against the Dakhin, he must understand that he, the Sultán of Gujarát, would attack Mandú. It was for him to choose. Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí from that time forward desisted from attacking the Dakhin.

In the year H. 868 (A.D. 1464), Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí, with a view to a religious war, procured from Telingánah a large quantity of arms made of Kajíl iron, that is, of watered steel. In the year H. 869 (A.D. 1465), he marched to the mountain Báwar,† and, after reducing the fort, returned.

* "On his retreat before." There is a good deal of confusion as to the whole of the transactions to which this paragraph relates. The text places this attack 867 A.H., and makes the treaty the direct consequence of Mahmúd Bígarha's interference. Firishtah and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" put both transactions in 870 A.H. The true history seems to be that given in the Málwah chapter of the "Tab. Akbarí." According to this, Mahmúd Khiljí sought to retrieve his disaster of the previous campaign, and marched on Ilichpúr. Nizám-ul-Mulk, on behalf of the Dakhiní king, replied by a smart counter-attack on the fort of Kehrlah, which was held by a garrison of the Málwah king. The attack was successful; but Mahmúd Khiljí, detaching a force to Kehrlah, pushed on himself to Daulatábád, and was besieging it, when (in the month of Ramzán) he heard of Mahmúd Bígarha's advance, and, as before, had apparently no line of retreat save by Gondwánah, having fallen into the same strategical error as before. Whether he suffered equally in this retreat is not said, but he kept quiet till 870 A.H., and then sent out an expedition by Ilichpúr, which was successful in routing a party of Dakhinís and plundering the country up to Ilichpúr. After this, peace was made. Ilichpúr, and all the country on the Dakhin side, was left to Nizám Sháh, and Kehrlah was restored to Mahmúd. No mention is made in any authority, except the text, of any interference on the part of Mahmúd Bígarha to induce this agreement.

† The fullest account of this expedition is given in the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí." Firishtah and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" confirm the account, which is as follows: "In the year 869 H. (A.D. 1465) it was reported to Sultán Mahmúd that the *zamíndárs* of Báwar and of the port of Dún were interfering with the shipping. These men had never received any chastisement from the Sultáns of Gujarát,

Next year, H. 870 (A.D. 1466), Mahmúd proceeded to Ahmadnagar. On the way thither Bahá-ul-Mulk, son of Alaf Khán, otherwise called 'Alá-ud-dín, son of Suhráb, murdered one of the Sultán's troopers,* and then fled and hid himself. The Sultán gave orders to Malik Hájí 'Imád-ul-Mulk and Malik Kálú 'Azd-ul-Mulk to pursue him, to apprehend him wherever they might find him, and bring him back. These two nobles searched, and actually found Bahá-ul-Mulk,† but they, by fraud and falsehood, induced two soldiers of the army to promise that they would state to the Sultán that they had committed the crime, and that Bahá-ul-Mulk was innocent. "The result of this will be," said they, "that the Sultán will send you to prison, but after a few days, at our intercession, he will set you at liberty." Those two poor self-accused murderers, without any reason and without any suspicion, made their confession to

and were very turbulent and rebellious. The Sultán's well-wishers endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise by describing the difficulties of the road and the strength of the fort; but the Sultán marched to subdue the country and to punish the turbulent. After great difficulties he reached the fort, when the commandant came out and fought bravely, and at night retired within the fort. This continued for several days, the enemy displaying great valour. At last, by chance, the King himself accompanied the forces up the hills of Báwar; when the enemy perceived the royal umbrella they were panic-struck, and the commandant came out and sued for quarter. The Sultán graciously agreed, and passed the pen of forgiveness over the page of their offences. The commandant and chief men of those parts received dresses of honour and presents. The Sultán then went to the fort; and after he had reached the upper part of the fort the commandant presented a very large tribute. The Sultán returned it at the same interview, with a dress of honour and a gold-mounted dagger. He agreed to pay a yearly tribute, and the government of the country was entrusted to him."

Firishtah says the Rái had a thousand villages under his rule. It is said, also, that the country lay between Gujarát and the Konkan. Briggs considers the place to be Dharmpúr. It was clearly north of Bombay, for, as has been seen, that appears to have been the southernmost Gujarát possession on the coast, the Dakhin possessions lying below it. There is a little port marked Dunnu, near to which a spur from the Ghâts runs into the low country; and from the stress laid on the difficulty of the way, and the fact that the fort of Báwar was on a hill, this may possibly have been the scene of the campaign under description. "Báwar" is the name found in our MS., and in the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah, but MSS. C and E have "Báral" and "Bádal," and the Hyd. MS. "Márú." There is a *lacuna* here in MS. A. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" has "Barará," the lithographed edition "Barúdar."

* "Killed him without any apparent cause."—"Tab. Akbarí." "Killed him in a fit of passion."—Firishtah.

† According to all copies of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," they actually had found Bahá-ul-Mulk. The "Tab. Akbarí," on the other hand, says they started towards I'dar to seize him, and turned back.

the Sultán, and by his order they were instantly beheaded. Shortly afterwards the real facts became known, and the Sultán said, "These two crafty wicked men have wrongfully caused the death of two Muhamadans. If I do not put them to death in retaliation of this murder, what answer shall I give to God Almighty to-morrow in the Day of Judgment?" So the Sultán ordered that these two great and wealthy nobles* should at the same time suffer the law of retaliation. Malik Bahá-ud-dín Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk was made 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and advanced to the office of *wazír*.

In the year H. 871 (A D. 1467), Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha led his armies against Girnár. In the course of the reign of the Sultán, Ráo Mandalík, the Rájah of Girnár and Júnahgarh, had been very refractory, and held the Sultán of Gujarát in little respect, considering him as no stronger than himself. He felt secure in the possession of two fastnesses, the lofty fort of Girnár, whose battlements no Sultán of Gujarát had surmounted, and the fortress of Júnahgarh, whose walls were of great strength.† These, with the country of Sórath, were under his rule. . . .

And what a country is Sórath! As if the hand of Heaven had selected the cream and essence of Málwah, Khandésh, and Gujarát, and had made a compendium of all the (good) people of the world, and had picked out the noblest and most vigorous (of men) from the three countries named, and collected them together unto one standard, as a touchstone of the countries of the world. Its ports excel all other ports. Of every kind of grain and fruit which these three countries produce in special excellence, or for which they are renowned, there is not one which is not obtainable in Sórath, or which is not of the best quality there. Indeed, they are often exported from the ports

* These men were two of those who stood by the Sultán during the first conspiracy against him, and the Sultán was under great obligations to them.

† Literally, "strong as the rampart of Alexander," a proverbial expression which has the meaning assigned to it in the text.

of Sórath to those of these countries themselves. God be praised! Such is Sórath, even at the present day.*

The marauders of the country of Sórath continually made raids upon the neighbouring territories of Gujarát, and its thieves kept up the practice of their calling there. Sultán Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadábád, had marched from Ahmadábád with the intention of conquering Sórath and reducing these fortresses, and when he found that he could not accomplish this he ravaged the country and returned. For this reason the Sultán set his heart upon taking these two forts and conquering Sórath, and he was intent thereon night and day. But for all this resolution he found the forts so strong, and the means of defence so ample, that he was unable to attempt his object.†

In the year H. 871 (A.D. 1467), after imploring the help of God, he marched against the infidels of Girnár.‡ On all sides of the Girnár hill are a range of (lower) hills; on the north side these approach nearly to the Girnár hill, but on the south they are not so close. This range is twelve *kós* in circumference. In the midst there is an intricate jungle, through which horses cannot pass. There are many caves there, and there are beasts and birds; but no human beings, except a tribe called Kháṅts, who in nature and appearance are like beasts, and live on the skirts of the mountain. If they are threatened by an army they fly and hide themselves in the jungle and the caverns. In this wilderness there are many rare trees, of

* The author then digresses into a lamentation over the disorder prevailing in the country in his day, which he attributes to the perpetual changes of its governors, scarcely one remaining there for more than a single year.

† The MS. A. here has a passage from which it might be inferred that Mahmúd had already made at least one unsuccessful attack on Júnahgarh; but this passage is not to be found in other MSS., nor is the assertion borne out by other authorities, and it is à *priori* improbable, as Mahmúd was otherwise pretty well occupied.

‡ Here follows a piece of poetry, which seems to be another extract from Halví Shirází's "Taríkh-i-Ahmad Sháhí," though this is not expressly said; but it is in his style, and a small passage of his work is quoted immediately afterwards. The sentences which follow the poetry are corrupt. The best interpretation which can be made from them is here submitted. It agrees with the survey-map of the place.

which no one knows the names and properties. They are peculiar to this country. On the mountain there are many fruit-trees, mangoes, *khirní*, *jáman*, fig, tamarind, *anotah* (*Phillanthus emblica*), and such like.

On the west side, and at the foot of the Girnár range, at three or four bow-shots' distance from the road, there is a low hill consisting of one mass of stone, and on the top of it stands the fort called Júnahgarh, whose walls are of great strength.* It has three gates, one on the west, and one on the east; outside, on the west side, there is another gate, which faces north; after passing through it you turn to the west.†

The people of Sórath tell a story of the way in which it obtained the name of Júnahgarh. In ancient times the abode of the Rájah of Sórath was at the village of Banthalí,‡ five *kós*

* The following extract is from Tod's "Travels in Western India," p. 362. (It is to be remembered that, as regards the outer wall described, this seems to have been built by Mahmúd after the final capture of the fort.) Júnahgarh "is an irregular trapezium . . . The southern and shortest face, which is the chief entrance, is seven hundred yards. The eastern, which also has its gateway, is eight hundred, and nearly a straight line. . . . The western and most extensive side is nearly two miles long, while the northern and most irregular is curvilinear, full another mile in length, having its portal at the head. Its huge rampart, being carried along the edge of Sonarica (Sónarékhá), whose deep precipices are hewn from the solid abutment of the rock, this forms the strongest side. A ditch has been chiselled . . . to thirty feet in depth, . . . and the ramparts . . . placed on the very verge of the excavation, so that there is a vallation of from sixty to eighty feet, and where it stands on the margin of the stream, of 100 feet of perpendicular height. . . . From the northern face the view is imposing. Girnár is seen towering in isolated grandeur through the opening of the range, one of whose natural portals bears the appropriate name of Doorga, the turreted Cybele. . . . We entered through the two grand demi-lunes in the south-west angle of the citadel, which defended the entrance. Having passed the first portals, we came upon a court, on the further side of which is another gateway of very antique design. The external faces of each gateway had the pointed arch; but internally there were architraves of huge blocks of granite, having a frieze in coarse marble . . . resting on strong flat pilasters of the same material, four on each side. . . . On quitting these defences we ascended the terrepleine of the castle by a flight of steps cut from the solid rock. . . . An edifice has usurped the crest of the ancient castle, an enormous mosque built with the *débris* of the shrines and palaces of the Yádus, as a memento of the success of Islam over the infidel Rajpoot. It is attributed to Sultán Mahomed Begárha on the subjugation of the Raja Mandalica."

† The Hyderabad MS. says "one gate to the west, one to the east, and one to the north-west, which has another before it facing to the north; after passing through which you turn westward."

‡ "Banthalí," the modern "Wanthalí"; it is about seven or eight miles W.S.W. of Girnár.

westward of Júnahgarh. Between this place and Júnahgarh there was a jungle, into which neither horse nor man could penetrate. Several successive Rájahs had lived and ruled there, when a wood-cutter made his way through the jungle with great exertion and difficulty, and came to a place where there were stone walls and a gate. He turned aside and went in.* He saw a *jógí* sitting as if dead, engaged in contemplation. The wood-cutter threw himself at the *jógí's* feet, and asked what was the name of the place and who was its builder. The *jógí* replied that its name was Júnah, and from thenceforward it was called Júnah-garh. The wood-cutter returned, and reported his discovery to the Rájah, who ordered the jungle to be cleared away, and the fort became visible. The Rájah inquired of the architects and historians of the country about the date of its erection and the name of its builder. All were entirely ignorant. So the fort was called Júnah-garh, that is to say, "old fort," because no one knew the time of its erection or the name of the builder. In the fort there are two reservoirs,† one called "Arí" and the other "Charí," and two wells, one called "Tókhan" and the other "Ankóliah."

The Rájah of that country was called Ráo Mandalík, and henceforward everyone who became Rájah received the same name.‡ It is stated in Hindú histories that for one thousand nine hundred years the ancestors of Ráo Mandalík had carried on the government, generation after generation.§ The

* All the MSS., except MS. A, omit the passages about the *jógí*, or Hindú devotee.

† "Reservoir." The word in the original is *báolí*, for which there is no exact equivalent in English; it is, in fact, a sunken reservoir and well combined, the water in which is reached by a deep flight of steps.

‡ The "Táríkh-i-Sórath" rather seems to favour this derivation of the title. Briggs, in his note (vol. iv. p. 53), says that it is a common term for a petty chief, apparently considering it a form of *mandal*, a term which, in Hindí, applies to a sub-division or district, but is more usually given to the chief officer who governs. Briggs says it implies the existence, at one time, of a superior lord, though the Mandalíks may have subsequently become independent. According to the "Táríkh-i-Sórath," Mandalík was also used as a proper name by the Ráos of Girnár.

§ The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" repeats this story, which seems pretty certainly untrue as regards the duration of the dynasty, though Júnahgarh is decidedly of great antiquity, probably, at least, coeval with the Christian era.

army of Sultán Muhamad, son of Tóghlak Sháh of Dehlí, took the fort, and another time it was taken by Ahmad Sháh, son of Muhamad Sháh, King of Gujarát. But on both occasions the Sultáns made it over to deputies, and the Hindús recovered it by force from these deputies.

When Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha conceived the design of capturing the forts of Girnár and Júnahgarh, he ordered his treasurer to take with him five *krórs* of money in pure gold and in nothing else. He also ordered the *kúr-begí** to take one thousand five hundred swords, Egyptian, Alímání,† Western, and Khurásání, and the handle of each sword was to be of gold, and weigh from four to six *sírs* Gujarátí. He was also to take three thousand eight hundred silver handles of Ahmadábád manufacture, of various weights, none more than five *sírs* and none less than four, and fixed upon Gujarátí blades. Also one thousand seven hundred daggers and poniards, the handles of which were to be of pure gold, and weigh each from two and a half to three *sírs*. The master of the horse was ordered to take with him on this campaign two thousand Arab and Turkí horses with housings of gold-work.

When Sultán Mahmúd had proceeded to invest Júnahgarh, the infidels of the country round gathered their women and children and provisions, and went into the defile of Mahábalah, which is an exceedingly strong position. There they resolved to take their stand, and declared that if attacked they would all die together. The Sultán resolved to carry the place, but Prince Tóghlak Khán‡ said that Mahábalah was said to be a very strong place, and that no army had ever penetrated there and reduced it; to which the Sultán replied, "Please God, I

* *Kúr-begí*, the "keeper of the armoury."

† *Alímání*. ? German. It is pretty certain that European sword-blades found their way to India at an early period. Curious old European sword-blades are still occasionally to be met with in that country. By "Western" is probably meant Arabian, or *possibly* Spanish.

‡ Prince (Sháhzádah) Tóghlak Khán. The "Tab. Akbarí" says, "one of the royal family, and maternal uncle of the Sultán." Firishtah, "the Sultán's uncle." He was apparently of the Sind family.

will conquer it." One day the Sultán mounted his horse to go hunting, and went in the direction of the Mahábalah defile. When the Hindús saw the small party they took no heed to it, not believing that such a little band was coming against them. Suddenly the Sultán attacked them, and the infidels, after a little fighting, fled into the jungle. When the army learnt that the Sultán had joined battle it marched to his support. The men left their horses outside the defile and went in on foot, and most of the women and children of the Hindús fell into their hands and were made captive. The Sultán returned victorious, and prosecuted the siege with vigour.*

It is said that during the four days of the siege the Sultán distributed the five *krórs* of gold, and all the horses, swords, daggers, and poniards (which he had prepared) among his soldiers, to encourage them in pressing the siege, and to prevent negligence and inactivity. He sent out detachments into all parts of the country of Sórath to plunder, and great spoil fell into the hands of his men. Ráo Mandalík sent representatives, with great submission and humility, to the Sultán, who

* The accounts of this transaction somewhat differ. Firishtah says that eighty *kós* from Girnár, the Sultán sent on Tóghlak Khán, with a force of seventeen hundred men, to seize Mahábalah at all hazards. This was effected by a surprise. The Ráo Mandalík, hearing of their success, sallied out and attacked Tóghlak Khán with great vigour. Meanwhile, the Sultán having followed in support, the Ráo was wounded and repulsed. According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," on the third day after his arrival the Sultán went out with a small party to attack the defile of Mahábalah. The garrison of the pass, seeing the weakness of the party, sallied out to attack them, and were defeated. The story of the "Tab. Akbarí" is that Tóghlak Khán was pressed by a vigorous onset of the Rajpúts, on hearing of which the Sultán came to his aid. The sum of these stories seems to be that the Sultán proceeded ostensibly to invest Júnahgarh, the fort which commands the main and ordinary entrance to the valley within the Girnár hills. While doing this he sent a small force under Tóghlak Khán to seize another very difficult defile called Mahábalah (there are one or two such marked on the map). It had been selected as a refuge for the women and children of the garrison, by which, apparently, they might escape if the forts were captured. The garrison left was probably not strong, and, being surprised, was defeated by Tóghlak Khán, and the fort of Júnahgarh was thus turned. The Ráo sallied out to dislodge the assailants, but, reinforced by the Sultán, they were too strong for him, and he was repulsed and defeated. The assailants then marched direct on Girnár itself.

thereupon deemed it advisable to relinquish the siege for that year. So he returned to his capital.*

In the year H. 872 (A.D. 1468) it came to the knowledge of the Sultán that when Ráo Mandalík went to worship at the idol temple, a golden umbrella was raised over his head, and he was clothed in garments worked with gold and jewelry of great value. This offended the Sultán's dignity. He assembled an army of forty thousand horse, with many elephants, and gave orders that they should fetch the umbrella and golden ornaments from the Ráo, and unless he surrendered them they were to lay waste his country. But when the Ráo heard of this he at once sent the umbrella and gold-worked dresses, with a suitable tribute, to the Sultán. So the army returned and laid all these things at the Sultán's feet; the Sultán gave the garments of gold-work to his musicians.†

In the year H. 873 (A.D. 1469) Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí died, and his eldest son, Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín, succeeded him. Some of the nobles of the King of Gujarát reminded their master that, on the death of Muhamad Sháh bin Ahmad Sháh, the Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí had tried to conquer the country of Gujarát, and said that if the Sultán would now attack the kingdom of Málwah, its conquest would be easy. To this the Sultán replied that it was very unworthy of any Muhamadan sovereign to covet the dominions of a brother Muhamadan sovereign, whether during his life or after his death.

* According to Firishtah several idol temples were destroyed, and the Ráo purchased peace by heavy payments in money and jewels. According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," some of the Hindús shut themselves up in one of the temples, which was carried by assault, and they were all put to the sword. The reason which induced the Sultán to accept the Ráo's terms was that the hot weather was coming on. Firishtah gives the date of this expedition as 872, but the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and "Tab. Akbarí" agree with the text in placing it in 871 A.H.

† Firishtah says the Sultán was looking out for some pretence on which again to attack the Ráo Mandalík, and seized on this occasion; otherwise the story of this author and of the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and "Tab. Akbarí" practically agree. They make the Sultán demand also a money payment from the Ráo, and say that Mahmúd afterwards gave all the things surrendered to a party of singers, in one gift. Firishtah, however, places the occurrence in 874 A.H., and confuses this expedition with that in the beginning of 874 A.H., which is mentioned below.

In the year H. 874 (A.D. 1469) the Sultán again sent an army against Sórath, which returned after ravaging the country.* After a while, he again resolved upon the reduction of the fort of Girnár, and marched towards Sórath. When Ráo Mandalík heard of this he went, without any summons or message, to wait upon the Sultán, expressed his ready obedience, and his willingness to faithfully perform whatever the Sultán might require. "Why," said he, "should the Sultán strive to ruin a faithful dependant who had not committed any offence?" The Sultán replied that there was no offence greater than that of infidelity. If he wished for safety, he must repeat the creed and become altogether a Musulmán. In that case, his dominions would be extended, and the Sultán would assign to him additional districts; if he failed to do this he should be utterly destroyed. When Ráo Mandalík understood the state of affairs, he fled at night to his fort.† Whilst he had been in attendance on the Sultán his agents had been busy collecting provisions and strengthening the fortress.‡

When the Sultán reached the base of the hill, the infidels, like ants or locusts, came down from the fort and hills, and attacked him. After much fighting they were defeated, and retired up to the fort. For two days the fighting went on in the same way. On the third the Sultán himself joined in the fight, and the infidels kept up a hand-to-hand contest from morn till night. The royal army at length prevailed, and the infidels fled into the fortress. The Sultán opened trenches, and, having appointed to each *amír* his proper station, completed the investment. Every day the infidels sallied out and

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí agrees in this story, but it has rather an unintelligible passage, the meaning of which, however, seems to be that when the Sultán himself took the field, he occupied and garrisoned all the forts in Sórath, which he passed on his way towards Girnár.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" adds "of Júnahgarh."

‡ It may be observed that, on this occasion, Mahmúd Bígarha does not seem to have repeated his former tactics, and rather to have gone in the straightforward road to Júnahgarh. There may have been several reasons for this. His previous strategy was based on a surprise now impossible; the Ráo himself was in Júnahgarh; and it is possible, as seen further on, that he had information that the latter fort was short of provisions.

fought. One day they advanced boldly into the trench of 'Álam Khán Fárukí, a distinguished officer, and, having killed him, went back. But the Sultán was always vigilant, and the Hindús were reduced to extremities.*

Ráo Mandalík had for a *wazír* a *bakkál* named Bíl.† He took counsel with the people of the fort, and said to them, "This time Sultán Mahmúd will not retire from our hills without taking the fortress; therefore, it is better for us to secure ourselves in the fort of Girnár than to stay here in Júnahgarh, for Girnár is stronger than this, and is well supplied with provisions." The people of the fort expressed their assent, and envoys were sent to the Sultán, saying that if he would show mercy, and would not interfere with their wives and families and goods, they would evacuate the fort and surrender it to him. The Sultán said, "It is well!" And they began to retire to Girnár with their goods and chattels. As soon as the Sultán heard of this he ordered his troops to harry them. The soldiers rushed forward, and when they reached half-way up the hill the fight began. Muhamadans in great numbers on that day obtained the honour of martyrdom, and Hindús in crowds were sent to hell.‡

The Hindús succeeded in getting themselves and their families into Girnár. Every day they sallied out and fought; but after a long time their provisions began to fall short, so they abjectly begged for quarter. The Sultán, after some negotiation, granted their prayer, on condition of conversion to Islám.

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" confirms generally this account. The Hindús fought with desperate valour and made frequent sallies (the "Tab. Akbarí" says "inflicting great loss"). At the close of 874 the fort of Júnahgarh was still holding out. The Hyderábád MS. differs from all other authorities in saying that 'A'lam Khán was *not* killed, but repulsed the assailants. However, the version in the text is supported by other works.

† The "Táríkh-i-Sórath" calls him "Bísal," which is probably correct. The events described below must have taken place in the beginning of 875 A.H., as is apparent from the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and from the express statement of Firishtah.

‡ No other author mentions this attack, which, thus described, seems treacherous and cruel; but it is possible that the Sultán expected the Hindús to surrender altogether, instead of merely retiring on Girnár.

Ráo Mandalík then came down from his stronghold, did homage, and gave up the keys of the fort to the Sultán's servants. This happened in the year 877 (A.D. 1472).* The Sultán required him to repeat the creed, and he immediately said it, thus saving himself from the flames of the King's anger, which were like the fires of hell. The Ráo said, "Some time ago my heart was attracted to Islám through meeting with Sháh Shams-ud-dín Bukhárí, who is buried near the town of U'nah; now, through the kindness of the Sultán, I have the honour of confessing it with my tongue." But it is said that whenever he thought of Girnár and of his power he sighed and wept. Such is the account given by the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar-Sháhí," but I have heard from good and true men of Gujarát a different story as to the reason which induced the Sultán to undertake his final enterprise against the fortress.

The grain-dealer Bíl, who was the *wazír* of Ráo Mandalík, and had the entire management of his affairs,† turned against the Ráo, and for the following reason. Bíl had a wife named Mohaní, of a beauty unequalled among her contemporaries. One day the Ráo saw her and fell deeply in love. In the end, after much perseverance he succeeded in his object; he won her to his purposes. The husband heard of the crime and felt his disgrace; but as he was unable to struggle openly with the power of the Ráo, he secretly schemed for the downfall of his authority.‡ Bíl carried out his plan thus. He dissembled,

* Two MSS. and the lithograph have this date, two MSS. omit it altogether, and a fifth gives 876 A.H. Firishtah has 875 (A.D. 1470), and the "Táríkh-i-Sórath" agrees. (See Burgess' "Táríkh-i-Sórath," p. 118.) The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" also makes it either the end of 875 or the beginning of 876. This last is almost certainly the correct date, for the *text* below makes the Sultán confer a *jágír* and title on Ráo Mandalík in 876, *after* his return from the expedition to Sind; and the building of the new city of Mustafábád seems also to have intervened between this latter event and the capture of the city.

† Literally, "In whose hands was the loosing and binding of the Ráo's affairs."

‡ Literally, "With the hand of deceit applied the saw of hostility to the root of the Ráo's prosperity." The "Táríkh-i-Sórath" gives this story also.

and told the Ráo that provisions were falling short, and that, with the Ráo's permission, he would go out and bring in a fresh supply. As he had entire control of the Ráo's affairs, the latter agreed. He accordingly began to collect provisions, but he secretly sent a messenger to the Sultán, informing him that the fort was short of provisions, and that if the Sultán would now attempt its capture he would accomplish it. The Sultán was delighted, and marched to Júnahgarh, and after a good deal of fighting took the fortress.

Another account is given of the conversion of Ráo Mandalík. It is said that when he came out of the fortress the Sultán took him to Ahmadábád. One day they went out to Rasúlábád, which was the home and is the resting-place of Hazrat Sháh 'A'lam. Before the door of the saint great numbers of men and elephants were assembled. The Ráo asked to what *amír* the house belonged, and he was told "to Hazrat 'A'lam-panáh." He inquired whose subject he was and whom he served, and he was told that he served only God Almighty. He asked how he obtained such princely state, and he was told that God gave it to him. He said, "I should like to make his acquaintance," and accordingly waited on the saint; and as soon as his eyes fell upon that blessed countenance, he said, "Teach me what you call the Musulmán faith." The saint rehearsed the creed at length, and the Ráo repeated it with his tongue and accepted it in his heart; thus God Almighty, by means of the saint, brought Ráo to the glory of Islám.*

In those days the guns and muskets† in the fortress were few, and the garrison fought sometimes with stones and some-

* This is evidently an interpolation of the author's in glorification of the Rasúlábád Bukhárí Sáíds. The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says, the Ráó was buried near the Káhnpúrah gate of Ahmadábád, by the wayside or the high road.

† This passage is curious as showing that the Hindús had not yet fully adopted the use of fire-arms. The Muhamadans had them in Gujarát in 855, *i.e.* twenty years before, as may be seen by the mention of them in p. 141, at the siege of Sultánpúr by Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, when 'Alá-ud-dín Suhráb is said to have employed them in the defence.

times with arrows and muskets. Although the Sultán pressed the siege for a long time with great energy, he did not make any progress, and he became much dejected. At last he wrote to Khudáwand Khán, *wazír*, who was learned in charms, and had given up his *wazír's* office and had become a recluse at Ahmadábád. His letter was to this effect: "Although I have done my best, still I cannot as yet see any prospect of success; but I have determined either to conquer this country or to die a martyr." Khudáwand Khán wrote back saying that he understood the Sultán had made over the charge of separate portions of the approaches against the fort to certain of his most noted nobles, and begged the Sultán to send him a detailed list of these postings. The Sultán did so, and the Khán wrote the name of each noble against the post best suited to him, and returned the list to the Sultán; averring that if he would re-arrange the charge of the trenches in the method thus set out, and if on a particular day he would order a vigorous attack, he would, if God pleased, be successful.* The Sultán acted on the Khán's directions; and on the very day indicated, the Lord Almighty was pleased to give him the victory.†

The Sultán sent for noble Sáíds, and learned men out of every city and town of Gujarát, and appointed *Kázis* and *Muhtasibs* in Júnahgarh and in the neighbouring towns, thus both establishing his own authority and providing for the prosperity of the country. He commenced the building of an outer wall to the fort, and he not only built fine apartments for himself, but desired that each of his nobles should build himself a house there, so that in a short time there grew up a city which might be called a twin of Ahmadábád, and was named

* This advice hardly required the aid of magic to conceive; evidently the old *wazír* knew the characters of the various nobles of the court, and recommended the employment of those who were best fitted for the discharge of the duties of each particular post.

† Here is a long piece of poetry quoted from Halví Shirází, which in the original probably applied to Ahmad Sháh and his partial conquest of Júnahgarh.

Mustafábád. The whole country of Sórath accepted the rule of the Sultán, and all the *zamíndárs* submitted, and paid their revenues without demand or coercion.

At this time Jai Sing, son of Gang Dás, Rájah of Chámpánír, was assisting the disaffected in the *sarkárs* of Barodah and Dabhói, and was endeavouring to stir up a revolt. He had leagued himself with the King of Mandú, and hoped for assistance from him; and certain evil-disposed men in the environs of Ahmadábád were at one with them and prepared to act in accord with them.* To provide against these proceedings the Sultán appointed Jamál-ud-dín Silahdár,† son of Shékh Malik, to be *Faujdár* of Ahmadábád and its dependencies, and gave him the title of Muháfiz Khán. The Khán made such excellent arrangements that thieves and robbers were entirely put down,‡ the people of the city and its neighbourhood slept at ease with open doors, and travellers frequented the highways and halting-places with their goods in perfect security. The fortunes of Muháfiz Khán prospered more and more. His son exacted tribute from rebellious people who had never paid it before. After a short time the entire government of the city was given to him, and he managed this also with great success. Shortly afterwards he was made *Mustaufi mamálik*; and he was so successful in his performance of the duties of that office, that he was promoted

* The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" distinctly attributes this disturbed state of the country to the absence of the King and of the army. The nobles and soldiers lived at Mustafábád (as will be seen above, the Sultán made them build houses there, and the "Tab. Akbarí" confirms this account). The thieves and lawless persons of Ahmadábád took to highway robbery to such an extent that the roads were closed.

† *Silahdár.*—The "Tab. Akbarí" says that he was *Kotwál* of the camp (Provost-Marshal), and also had charge of the "armoury" or "magazine."

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" adds, he executed four or five hundred robbers. It may be observed, however, that the discontent was apparently suppressed but not removed. It broke out again later in the conspiracy of Khudáwand Khán, which will be mentioned presently. Firishtah says, "He had at one time one thousand seven hundred men in attendance, all *bárgír-i-khás*," i.e. equipped by him and riding horses from his stables. His power was, in fact, so little within control that his son, Malik Khizr, in the absence of the king and without his orders, marched and obliged the Ráos of I'dar, Bágar, and Siróhí to pay him tribute.

to be *wazír*,* but was allowed to retain his other appointments, the duties of which he discharged by deputies. He was an ancestor of the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí."†

The Sultán also appointed *amírs* for governing the *súbahs* of Barodah. He named Bahá-ul-Mulk, entitled 'Imád-ul-Mulk, to the post of Sónkherah-Bahádarpúr, Malik Sárang Kiwám-ul-Mulk, to the post of Godhrah, and Táj Khán, son of Sálár, to that in the village of Tórakh, on the banks of the Mahindrí. In consequence of the establishment of these posts Rái Jai Sing gave up his hostile proceedings.

In the year H. 876 (A.D. 1471) the Sultán gave to Ráo Mandalík the title of Khán-Jahán, and gave him a *jágír*.‡ All the idols covered with gold, which he had taken from the temple of the Ráo, he gave to his soldiers. Subsequently he marched against Sind By a march of sixty-one *kós* in two days, he passed over the Ran and laid waste the lands of the neighbouring *zamíndárs* of Sind. The land there is saline; it is inundated in the rains, and, as one end of it joins a bay of the sea, at high-tide the sea-water finds its way over the country.§

* *Wazír.* This last dignity does not appear to have been actually conferred on Muháfiz Khán till after the death of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and after Khudáwand Khán's conspiracy of 885. See passage from the "Tab. Akbarí" quoted below.

† This passage occurs in the lithographed edition and in all the MSS. except MS. A, which reads, after "deputies," "whose names are mentioned in the 'Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí,'" a manifestly corrupt reading. The passage is of importance, for Mián Mánjhú, the writer's father, was a personal friend of the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí," and is likely to have been well informed as to the fact, which shows also that the author of this latter work was a man of good social position and likely to be well informed.

‡ This is the last mention of the unfortunate Ráo. According to the "Táríkh-i-Sórath," his name as well as his title was "Mandalík," and he was the fifth of his dynasty of that name. Briggs, quoting the "Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh," calls him "Ambar" or "Hambar." According to the "Táríkh-i-Sórath" (p. 131), the Ráo's descendants held the *jágír*, assigned to him till after the close of the fifteenth century. They still, it is said, exist under the name of "Rái-zádahs."

§ The whole of this paragraph is corrupt in the MSS., which differ greatly from each other. According to some, the Sultán marched sixty-one *kós* (over ninety miles) in one day; others make it two days, which is more probable. The sentence as to the overflow of the "Ran" by the sea is barely intelligible in any one MS., but on comparing them the sense given above seems to be that which the original text conveyed. The "Tab. Akbarí" says the Sultán marched sixty-one *kós* in one day. Firishtah, "without a halt," which last is possible, though hardly likely.

In some places the breadth of it is sixty *kós* more or less. The water is always salt, the land is incapable of cultivation, and the country produces nothing but salt and fish.

On that forced march the Sultán had with him altogether only six hundred horse. The *zamíndárs* of Sind are Súmrahs, Sódrahs, and others. Twenty-four thousand of them had assembled to await the arrival of the Sultán, having been warned beforehand, and they had taken a strong defensive position and made ready for battle. But as soon as they saw his force they all sent envoys to him, asking for peace on the ground of their being Musulmáns. They were so humble and submissive that he refrained from destroying them.* The Sultán said, however, that all who urged the plea of Islám ought thoroughly to perform the duties of Musulmáns, and ought to abandon all the relations with infidels such as they still maintained; that from every tribe the men who were of good position should come and do homage to the Sultán, and accompany him to Júnahgarh, in order to learn the rules of Islám from men learned in religion; and after remaining at that place some time and thoroughly acquainting themselves with the rules of Islám, some of them should return to teach their respective tribes. Whether they liked it or not, they were obliged to comply, and, coming in with suitable offerings, did

* The "Tab. Akbarí" gives only an abridged version of the story in the text. Firishtah is much fuller. In one point he is probably, too, more correct, as he calls the country attacked "Kachh," not Sind; but some points are possibly imaginary embellishments. The story runs thus: "The inhabitants of Kachh, very far removed from Dehlí, had long thrown off allegiance to that Government. The people, having little to subsist upon, were in the habit of plundering their neighbours, and had lately invaded Gujarát. . . . The Kachhís consisted of four thousand archers, who drew up in good order. Mahmúd dismounted to put on his armour, and with his small party charged the enemy, who . . . were defeated, and numbers of them slain . . . the remainder . . . came forward to implore mercy. . . . The Sultán questioned them as to their religion; they replied that they were men of the desert without teachers; they knew that there was a sky, earth, water, and fire; that they had no wants but the necessary articles of food; but begged His Majesty to send teachers among them in order that they might become true Muhamadans." (Vol. iv. pp. 57, 58.) It is probable, as the text implies, that these men were really professing Muhamadans, though not very strict in their allegiance to Islám.

homage to the Sultán, and went with him to Júnahgarh, where he gave them into the charge of learned and religious men, who were to instruct them in the duties of their religion. After a considerable time, when they had been duly taught, some returned to their own country, and some, captivated by the royal kindness and the favours they received, abandoned their country and their kindred and remained in the service of the Sultán. All of these in course of time obtained high employment and received titles.

In the year H. 877 (A.D. 1472), the Sultán marched with a numerous force to settle accounts with certain rebels in Sind. He made a forced march with nine hundred horsemen, each with a spare horse, to Sarpalah, and fought with forty thousand men of the Hindú *zamíndárs* of Sind, who were armed with bows, and skilful archers. He defeated them, and having taken their women and children prisoners, he sent them to Júnahgarh.*

In this year Jagat and Sánkhódhár† were conquered. The cause of this conquest was as follows:—Mauláná Mahmúd Samarkandí,‡ a man skilled in the rules and practice of poetry, took ship on the coast of the Dakhin, and was proceeding by sea on his way back to Samarkand. Some pirates of Sánkhó-

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that when he arrived at the saline district he picked out about one thousand horsemen, and told them each to carry food and water for seven days, and says that the enemy (they had been plundering some of the Gujarát districts) fled at once. The account of Firishtah says that the Sultán halted a day before moving to attack, and that some camel-men bringing news of his advance, the Síndís fled and abandoned their camp. The "Tab. Akbarí" adds that the Sultán had occupied a considerable extent of the Sind country (Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" say he penetrated as far as the Indus), and his nobles suggested that he should annex and occupy it. The Sultán, however, refused, saying that the country belonged to Makhdumat Jehán (?) who was of Sind (royal) family, and that he was *bound* to respect her rights, and that it would be ungenerous and improper to seize her territory.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" says Jagat was "a sacred place of the Brahmáns," and is the Dwárka of to-day; and Sánkhódhár is (as it is actually called in the "Tab. Akbarí") Bét. The country was that generally called "Ókémandal," and the Rajpúts, as they are to-day, were Pághars and Wághars, a poor but brave and hardy race, much given to piracy and robbery generally.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" says "whose name (literary appellation or *nom de plume*) was Fázilí." The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" makes these events, including the second attack on Sind, to take place in 878. The truth appears to be that the attack on Sind took place in 877, and the Sultán marched against Jagat just at the close of the same year.

dhár took the ship of the Mullá and brought it to Sánkhódhár, where they turned the Mullá and his two sons adrift on the sea-shore, but retained his women, his property, and the ship. The Mullá, after undergoing many troubles and dangers, reached the court of Mahmúd Sháh. The two boys were of tender age, and could not make the journey on foot, and the Mullá was unable to carry them both on his shoulders or his back at once. So he took up one and carried him for some distance; he then went back and fetched the other. In this way, in some days, he accomplished the journey of seventy *kós*, and reached the court of the Sultán. With a sorrowing heart and with tearful eyes he related the wrongs he had suffered, in a manner which touched the hearts of the King and all who were present. The Sultán desired him to come near, and inquired more particularly into his affairs, and the Mullá, with many sighs and lamentations, informed him of all that had happened. The Sultán had already formed the design of conquering Jagat, which was a celebrated sacred place of the heathen infidels, and also the island of Sánkhódhár; but people spoke so seriously of the difficulties of the road, of the jungly neighbourhood, and of the strength of the island of Sánkhódhár, that it had made him hesitate and give the matter more consideration. The occurrence of the present event gave the old inclination a fresh impulse. The Sultán was disturbed, and said he would never rest till he had punished the insolence of those infidels. He comforted the Mullá, showed him very great kindness, and sent him to Ahmadábád.

On the 17th Zí-l-hijjat he commenced his march towards Jagat. When he reached the place the inhabitants fled to Sánkhódhár. The place was given up to plunder, and, by order of the Sultán, its buildings were razed, the temples destroyed, and the idols broken to pieces. From thence he proceeded to the village of Arámrah,* ten *kós* from Jagat, on the sea-shore, opposite to the island of Sánkhódhár, and en-

* This name also reads, in some MSS., Arámah, Adhámrah, and Dhámrah.

camped there. The author of the "Mahmúd Sháhí" relates that this place was infested with serpents. That night, through fear of the snakes, no man dared to go to sleep. There was not a tent into which a snake did not enter. Seven hundred snakes were killed that night within the royal enclosure.*

One of the wonders of these parts is that, between the ninth and fourteenth of the month of Asár, which the Hindús call "Púranmáshi," in the beginning of the rainy season, a small bird, about as large as a *sárang*, of a peculiar appearance like no other living creature, comes from the direction of the sea and perches on the top of the idol temple in the village of Mádhópúr, in the *parganah* of Manglór, and does not continue its flight for two or three hours. When it arrives the inhabitants assemble, and deduce from it omens regarding the rains. According as the white and black of its plumage appears to be distributed, they augur what kind of rainy season they will have, whether the rain will fall early or late, or otherwise. If nothing but black or nothing but white is to be seen, they infer that the rain will be continuous throughout the season, or that there will be a drought. No year ever passes without the appearance of the bird at this season. It is said that in the same manner a creature comes and sits on the idol temple of Pattan Díú, and on that of Jagat, which is by the sea-shore, and they similarly deduce auguries from it.†

The inhabitants of Jagat having fled to Sánkhódhár, made themselves secure. Sánkhódhár is an island in the sea, about three *kós* from the mainland. The pirate subjects of the Rájah of Jagat lived there, and plundered those who journeyed by sea. When the Sultán found that the infidels had taken refuge in this island, he collected ships from the neighbouring

* Firishtah says "seventy snakes," the "Tab. Akbari" "seven hundred in one watch of the night." As Briggs points out, the disturbance of the ground by the levelling and other operations carried on in pitching the camp, would naturally disturb the snakes and drive them out of their holes.

† This passage is interesting as preserving one of the current Hindú superstitions of that day. There are still parallel superstitions extant in some parts of India. The story is here given in an abridged form.

ports, and, filling them with well-armed men, sailed to attack the island.* He surrounded the island on every side with his fleet, and gave battle. The infidels resisted bravely, and kept up a sustained discharge of arrows and muskets, and fought hand-to-hand; but the soldiers of Islám by strength of arm prevailed, and gained the victory. Many infidels were killed, but many others escaped in ships.† The Sultán disembarked on the island, and sent some soldiers in well-equipped ships to chase the fugitives and capture them. The summons to prayer was cried from the summit of the temple, and then the edifice was ruined and its idols broken. The Sultán returned repeated thanks and praise to God for the victory, and the people of the Mullá, who were in prison, were released. It is said that a great booty in rubies and pearls of fine water and precious stuffs fell into the hands of the victors. The Sultán remained there for some time, and laid the foundation of a mosque, and, having collected a large store of provisions, he left Malik Tóghán, entitled Farhat-ul-Mulk, in charge of Sánkhódhár and the country of Jagat, and then went to Júnahgarh. The conquest of Jagat and the island of Sánkhódhár was effected in the year H. 878 (A.D. 1473). No former king had been able to conquer this island. The conquest was effected by the strong arm of Sultán Mahmúd Ghází. It was two years after this, that is to say, in the year H. 880, that the holy saint Sháh 'A'lam, the son of the holy Säid Burhán-ud-dín Bukhárí, quitted this transitory life. The date of his death is to be found in the words *Akhir-ul-Ouliá*.‡

* According to both the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah, the Sultán delayed on the mainland for four months, during which he was occupied in collecting and equipping a fleet, and in destroying the temples at Jagat. Firishtah says that during this period the Hindú ships attacked the Sultán on twenty-two distinct occasions. According to the "Tab. Akbarí," when the island was attacked, the Sultán's fleet was opposed by that of the Rájah, and a severe naval engagement took place before the landing was effected.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" says the Rájah escaped, and this was evidently the case, as is shown further on in the text.

‡ The expression is probably intended to imply that he was the last *great* man of his family. From the account given of him, it will be seen that he was a man of strong will and fierce temper. His marriage, his wealth, and his sanctity gave him, no doubt, great political and social importance.

On the 13th Jumád-ul-awwal, H. 878 (A.D. 1473), the Sultán arrived at Mustafábád, otherwise Júnahgarh. It so happened that on the very same day the warriors who had gone in pursuit of the Rájah of Jagat, whose name was Bhím, son of Ságar, brought him there with a collar on his neck and chains upon his feet. The Sultán richly rewarded each of the captors, and gave directions that Maulánà Mahmúd Samarkandí should come from Ahmadábád. On his arrival the Sultán directed that Bhím should be given over to him, so that he might have his revenge. Bhím was brought forward in his collar and chains. The Mullá then rose, lauded the Sultán for his devotion to Islám, and said that through his means he had attained his desire. It was then decreed that the infidel should be sent to Muháfiz Khán at Ahmadábád, that his body might be cut to pieces and a piece hung over each gate of the city, as a warning to other ill-doers. When Bhím was brought to Ahmadábád, Muháfiz Khán acted according to these instructions.

When the Sultán was satisfied with the working of the administration introduced into Sórath, the design which lay dormant in his heart for the conquest of Chámpánír became active. He started from Mustafábád for Ahmadábád, and on the way he heard that some Málabárís had equipped a number of *ghrábs*, and were committing piracies near the ports of Gujarát. This induced him to turn aside to the port of Ghóghah, where he placed brave sailors and soldiers on board ships excellently equipped, and sent them against the Málabárís.* From Ghóghah he went to Kambháiat, and from thence to Sarkhéj, where he encamped, and had the honour of paying a visit to the tomb of Shékh Ahmad Khattú. He remained there three days, and summoned thither the sons of the *amírs* and soldiers who had been killed or had died in the campaign. When

* According to the expressions employed by the "Tab. Akbarí," it would seem that Mahmúd commanded his fleet in person, and that a naval action took place, in which several of the Málabárí ships were captured. Firishtah says the pirates came from Balsar.

there was a son he continued to him his father's appointments, and when there was no son he gave half the *jágír* to the daughter, and when there was no daughter he made a sufficient provision for his wives and dependants. In these three days the Sultán's eyes were often filled with tears and his countenance marked with grief. Some of his followers remonstrated, and asked what was the object in delaying so long when only three *kós* from the city, and of such lamentations when he had returned safe and sound after gaining two such glorious victories as those over Girnár and Júnahgarh. They represented that the people of the city were all anxiously expecting the Sultán's entry, and that it was a time of rejoicing both for them and for the whole army, not one for weeping. The Sultán replied that a person must be wonderfully devoid of generosity, or very inhumane, who, having himself returned safe and sound, could not wait three days to inquire for and see the widows and families of those who had been killed or who had died, to console and comfort them, before returning to his city and enjoying himself. It is said that Kází Tuhmud-dín came out and congratulated the Sultán, who replied with a sigh, "Ah! Kází, it is well with *me*, but you should ask those who have lost husbands and sons in these campaigns. If I had remained at home all these years, how many children might have been born who have been sacrificed for these victories!"

In the month of Sha'ban he entered Ahmadábád, and in Ramzán marched from thence with his army for Chámpánír. On reaching the village of Mor-Imli, in the *parganah* of Sánoulí, on the banks of the Mahindrí, he halted. From thence he sent out forces to lay waste the country about Chámpánír, which they accomplished and returned. When the rainy season came on he retired to Ahmadábád, and there stayed during the rains. These being over, he moved out in the direction of Mustafábád, where he remained hunting and marching about for a time, and then returned to Ahmadábád.

It is said that the Sultán used to go every year from Ahmadábád to Mustafábád, and spend some time there in hunting and travelling. His mind, however, still dwelt upon the conquest of Chámpánír, and whenever he went out from Ahmadábád to hunt he was drawn towards that place. One day while hunting he came to the river Wátrak, which lies twelve *kós* south-east of Ahmadábád. He heard that highway robberies were committed in that neighbourhood from time to time. He ordered that a city should be founded there, and be called Mahmúdábád. The foundations of the city were begun immediately. Strong embankments of stone were placed along the river, and on them handsome edifices were raised. The founding of this city is a proof of the sound judgment and wise perception of the Sultán; for the water of that city is pure and wholesome, and the climate of the site of that city is such as the site of no other city on the face of the earth possesses. . . . Every one of its gardens had the hues of the gardens of heaven. . . . A proof of the advantages of this city is that it pleased the Sáíd Mubárak,* the martyr, of whom more will be said when the reigns of Mahmúd the Martyr and Sultán Ahmad are narrated.

In the year H. 885 (A.D. 1480), the Sultán went to Júnahgarh, leaving his eldest son, Ahmad Sháh, at Ahmadábád with Khudáwand Khán as his guardian.† The soldiers were out of temper with the Sultán through their perpetual marches, and some designing men induced Khudáwand Khán to acquiesce in raising Prince Ahmad to the throne, and to form treacherous designs against the Sultán. 'Imád-ul-Mulk,‡ who was an

* Sáíd Mubárak was the immediate patron (in Gujarát) of the writer and the writer's father, and his choice of Mahmúdábád for his residence is mentioned again further on.

† Firishtah gives this story differently, and makes Khudábandah Khán (as he calls him) Governor of Ahmadábád, as he probably was. Firishtah gives the name of the prince as Muzaffar, and not Ahmad; but on this point the "Tab. Akbarí" corroborates the text, which, as other evidence further on shows, is pretty certainly correct. All the authorities agree in describing the discontent arising from the Sultán's incessant campaigns as giving rise to this conspiracy.

‡ He was in charge of Sónkherah, as has been already said.

attached servant of the Sultán, discovered their schemes, and warned them not to let the fire burst into flames. The Sultán got notice of what was going on, and returned from Mustafábád to Ahmadábád, when he inflicted severe punishments on Khudáwand Khán and his associates.

[*The story of this plot is given in full detail by the "Tab. Akbarí"; this account is important, as explaining the reason why Prince Ahmad was passed over eventually for the succession, and, moreover, it gives a curious insight into the working of the administration, and into the Sultán's personal character. It is, therefore, here reproduced in detail.**]

Khudáwand Khán, who was on terms of intimate friendship with the Rái Ráián,† said to the latter in private, "We are all annoyed at the Sultán's continuous labours. Not a year passes that he does not call us nobles out and send us off on some campaign. If I were to take my own followers and five hundred soldiers to 'Imád-ul-Mulk's house, I could easily put him out of the way, and then we could the next day make Prince Ahmad Khán Sultán. There could not be a better time for killing 'Imád-ul-Mulk, for all his troops are away at his command. I have spoken to the Prince Ahmad Khán, and he, too, consents."‡ The Rái Ráián said that 'Imád-ul-Mulk was his closest and most intimate friend, and he did not see why he should not tell him. Moreover, he, too, was aggrieved with Sultán Mahmúd, and would, doubtless, give in his adhesion to the plot, and, if so, the matter was practically settled. Khudáwand Khán strongly opposed this proposal, but the Rái Ráián firmly relied on his close friendship with 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and, accordingly, after administering an oath of secresy to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, privately communicated to him the conspiracy. 'Imád-ul-Mulk, as his men were all absent in his

* One MS. only being available, which is palpably corrupt in some passages, some of the translations are necessarily tentative.

† Beyond the self-evident fact that this man was a Hindú of rank in high employ, nothing is to be found of his history.

‡ This is the meaning of the sentence, but the text is not quite clear.

jágír,* at once expressed his agreement, but objected that Ramzán was drawing to a close, and when it was over they should make an attempt to carry out their intention.†

The Ráí Ráián was delighted, and informed Khudáwand Khán. 'Imád-ul-Mulk, the moment that Ráí Ráián had left him, called Malik Mián, and said to him, "When Sultán Kutb-ud-dín was king I wished for a second house, and could not afford one. Now, when, under Sultán Mahmúd's favour, I have gained such high dignity, shall I join in this baseness?"‡ So he wrote a letter to Farhat-ul-Mulk, who was encamped at Sarkhéj, and another to Kiwám-ul-Mulk, who was lying at the village of Rakhiál (?), to come in by forced marches. Early next morning Farhat-ul-Mulk arrived with five hundred horse, and went to 'Imád-ul-Mulk's house; all was quiet, so 'Imád-ul-Mulk desired Farhat-ul-Mulk to go to his own home. He then summoned Maháfiz Khán, the *kotwál* of the city, and said to him, "We are connected with each other; we must rival each other in loyalty, and the way to prove your loyalty is this: do you personally supervise the management of the city, lest any sedition come into being, and especially on the day of the 'I'd§; you must hold ready all your following and retainers, and attend on the Prince Ahmad Khán." 'Imád-ul-Mulk added that he, too, in person, would see to the peace of the city on that day. Khudáwand Khán, as soon as this came to his knowledge, was horrified, and sending for the Ráí Ráián, said to him, "I told you that 'Imád-ul-Mulk would not agree to the plot; it has now come to this,

* As is mentioned previously, 'Imád-ul-Mulk was really in charge of Sónkherah, but probably, as *wazír*, had official duties also at Ahmadábád.

† This passage, also, is not clear in the text.

‡ This is clearly the meaning of the passage, but it is imperfect in the text.

§ This, as will be seen in the sequel, was the *'I'd-ul-fitr*. It is held at the conclusion of the feast of Ramzán, on the first of the month of Shawál. It means, literally, "the feast of alms." It is incumbent to distribute five pounds (about) of some kind of ordinary food, or the equivalent in money, at the *'I'dgáh*, or place of the *'I'd*, a building usually outside the city or village. The *'I'd-uz-Zohá*, which is held on the ninth of the month of Zí-l-hijj, is distinguished from the above feast mainly by the sacrifice at the *'I'dgáh* of a sheep, cow, or camel. The feast is intended to commemorate the offering up of Isaac by Abraham. (See "Qánún-i-Islám," pp. 253–267, 2nd ed.)

that both our houses are ruined." When the *'I'd* had passed and 'Imád-ul-Mulk's troops had arrived, Khudáwand Khán was frightened, and held his peace, and the affair remained apparently undiscovered. It happened, however, that shortly after a report reached Mustafábád that on the day of the *'I'd* Khudáwand Khán had murdered 'Imád-ul-Mulk, that all the nobles had joined him, and that they had made Prince Ahmad Khán Sultán. Some imprudent fellow told all this to Sultán Mahmúd, who at once sent for Kaisar Khán and Fíroz Khán, and told them privately that he had heard that Prince Ahmad Khán was ill, and that he was very anxious about him. He desired them to send Malik Sa'd-ul-Mulk out on the Ahmadábád road for two or three *kós*, and desire him to question carefully and fully anyone he might find coming from that direction. Sa'd-ul-Mulk went out, and, as it happened, met one of his own connections, who was coming from Ahmadábád, of whom he inquired the news. The man replied, "I was at Ahmadábád on the day of the *'I'd ul-Fitr*. The Sháhzádah, who was unwell, showed himself.* Khudáwand Khán and Maháfiz Khán were with him, and when the Prince went home Maháfiz Khán remained in Darbár till the second watch of the day had passed. The people of the city also said that 'Imád-ul-Mulk would not give any of his officers leave to go out, but insisted on their remaining ready at their houses all day." Malik Sa'd reported everything to the Sultán, who said, "Then the man who told me the Prince was ill lied." Two or three days later he sent for Fíroz Khán and Kaisar Khán, and privately told them the whole story. He went on to say that he was about to give out that he proposed going on a pilgrimage to Mekkah, and that he should understand by the way people inquired about it who were well affected to him.† Accordingly, a few

* This is the reading of the text, but it must mean that the Prince was *not* unwell, and showed himself in the grand procession which, on the *'I'd-ul-fitr*, at the close of the Ramzán, moves out to the *'I'dgáh*, or "place of delight," usually outside the city.

† This paragraph, also, is apparently corrupt in the original MS.

days later, he ordered ships to be prepared, and gave out several *lakhs* of *tankahs* in order to equip them for the voyage to Mekkah, and, leaving Mustafábád, he embarked at Ghóghah, but disembarked again at Khambay. When this news reached Ahmadábád, all the nobles hastened to join him. The Sultán saw that, abandoning Prince Ahmad Kháu, they all were delighted at his arrival,* and the Sultán was relieved from all anxiety in regard to his kingdom, but still pursued his design,† and said that he intended to gain the merit of a pilgrim. 'Imád-ul-Mulk suggested that the Sultán should at least once more visit Ahmadábád, and there decide what course to pursue. The Sultán perceived that this was sound advice, so proceeded to Ahmadábád. After his arrival at that city he collected all his nobles, and said, "I desire you to give me leave to perform a pilgrimage; until you give it I will eat no food." The nobles perceived that this was said to try them, and remained wholly silent. When they had withdrawn‡ 'Imád-ul-Mulk said to them, "You must give the Sultán an answer; he is fasting." Nizám-ul-Mulk went in to the Sultán, and said, "The Prince is now of years of discretion. I have acquired wealth by trading, and am well acquainted with the seasons.§ Appoint me your personal attendant, and thus I shall, while in your service, acquire the benefits of the pilgrimage." The Sultán said that no doubt the benefits (of pilgrimage) were great, but that the interests of the kingdom could not be neglected in his absence. Sa'd-ul-Mulk came out and reported all to the nobles. None of them spoke a word. When 'Imád-ul-Mulk saw that they were all silent, he again said, "The Sultán is fasting, you must give an answer. You, Nizám-ul-Mulk, are older than your companions; go and say to the Sultán that he had better conquer the fort of Chámpánír, where

* Literally, "prepared triumphal arches in their hearts."
† This sentence is doubtful in the original.
‡ This sentence, too, is imperfect in the original.
§ The seasons of cold and heat; meaning, probably, the seasons and winds suitable for travelling.

he may place in safety his wives and treasure, and then start safely for foreign parts."* The Sultán replied, "Yes, by God's will, we will take it," and immediately called for food. Nevertheless, he sent for Kaisar Khán, and said privately, "'Imád-ul-Mulk has not told me the whole truth. Go to him, and talk to him, so that he may tell it to you." Some days passed, and affairs remained in this condition, when one day 'Imád-ul-Mulk said, "Your servant perceives his error."† The Sultán said, "In order that you may tell the truth I will not say a word;" and he made him take an oath to tell the truth. He then said, "If my loyalty cost me my life, they will say, Though the unfortunate 'Imad-ul-Mulk was slain he told the truth." The Sultán acted with gentleness, and the punishment which he assigned to Khudáwand Khán was this: he called one of his pigeons by his name.‡

The Sultán marched to Nahrwálah, and from thence he despatched 'Imád-ul-Mulk to subdue Jálór and Sájór. Kaisar Khán was sent with him. At the end of the first day's march they encamped near the shrine of Shékh Háji Zakariah (?). Here Mujáhid Khán, son of Khudáwand Khán, with his cousin, Sáhib Khán, went into Kaisar Khán's tent at night and murdered him.§ Next morning 'Imád-ul-Mulk waited on the Sultán, and informed him of the murder. Somebody told the Sultán that Azdar Khán, son of Alaf Khán, was the murderer. The King ordered the apprehension of Azdar Khán.‖ That night Mujáhid Khán and Sáhib Khán fled with their families, and in the morning it became known that they were the murderers, and that Azdar Khán was innocent. Azdar Khán was

* The text reads, "for Muháfiz Khán, his wives and treasure," but it is clear that the second word should be *maháfizat*, "safe keeping."

† The text reads this in the negative: "Your servant has *not* perceived his error"; but this is clearly wrong.

‡ Firishtah says, "caused the person employed in the meanest office in his household to be called by his name." See remarks on Khudáwand Khán at the close of Mahmúd's reign (*infra*).

§ According to Firishtah, the Sultán received the first intelligence of the conspiracy from Kaisar Khán.

‖ Azdar Khán was, Firishtah says, known to be at enmity with Kaisar Khán.

released, and orders were given that Khudáwand Khán should be put in chains and placed in charge of Muháfiz Khán. After a few days the Sultán returned to Ahmadábád. At this time the unfortunate 'Imád-ul-Mulk died. The King gave his eldest son, Malik Badín, the title Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk, and he appointed Muháfiz Khán to be *wazír*.—"Tabakát-i-Akbarí."

In the year H. 887 (A.D. 1482)* the rains were deficient in the country of Gujarát, and also in the territories of Chámpánír. Malik Sidá,† Khássiah Khél Sultání, who was posted at Mor Imli, otherwise called Rasúlábád, undertook a plundering expedition into the country of Chámpánír. When he came near the fort, Ráwal Patái,‡ Rájah of Chámpánír, sallied out and attacked him. The *malik* fought bravely, but he was defeated, and many of his men were killed. Several elephants and horses belonging to the Sultán, and all the baggage, were lost. The Sultán was highly incensed, and firmly resolved within himself to take Chámpánír.

When the Sultán marched from Ahmadábád to besiege Chámpánír and reached the town of Barodah, great fear fell upon Ráwal Patái and the people of the fortress. The Rájah sent his *wakíls*, who professed complete submission; but the Sultán would not listen to any of their appeals, and told them that this time between him and them there could be negotiations only by the sword and dagger. They returned in dismay and sorrow, and told their master what had passed. The Ráwal determined to fight till death, set his fortress in order, and prepared for the conflict. The Sultán invested the place, and fighting went on between the combatants every day from morn till eve. After some days the Sultán ordered the con-

* Firishtah places at this date the expedition against the Bárí pirates, and says that it was fitted out at Balsar. As to chronology, however, the text is supported by the "Tab. Akbarí," and is probably right.

† This name is variously written "Sadá," "Salá," "Sidá." The "Tab. Akbarí" calls him "Sadhá," and says he was killed in the action. *Khél* seems to mean the Sultán's personal escort, or "guard." *Khássiah*

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" says, *Patái bin Rái Adhang*, and says two elephants were lost.

struction of covered ways, and men skilled in their erection s[illegible]et about the work. Ráwal Patáí sent his minister, Sahúrá[illegible] to Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín, son of Mahmúd Khiljí, to solicit a[illegible]ssistance, and promised to pay him, for every day's march he should make towards Chámpánír, one *lakh* of *tankahs*, each *tankah* being equal in value to eight *Akbarí tankahs*. Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín marched from Mandú, and halted at Na'lchah, three *kós* from Mandú, where he set about the organisation of his army.*

When the Sultán heard of these preparations, he left the conduct of the siege to some of his *amírs*, and marched towards Mandú. He reached the village of Dahód, on the frontier between Gujarát and Mandú, and there he halted. Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín, when he saw what the result was likely to be, conceived a plan for putting an end to his expedition.†

* The accounts both of Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" give the preliminary measures somewhat more in detail. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that when the Sultán reached Baródah, the chief of Chámpánír sent a missive to him, as reported in the text, but, apparently, besides returning the spoil, only offered excuses, and to restore two elephants in lieu of those captured, which were badly wounded; and the Sultán is reported to have told the ambassadors that "the sword should convey his answer." When his plans were matured, the Sultán sent on an advanced force to invest the fortress, or, perhaps, rather to watch it, under Táj Khán, Asad-ul-Mulk, Bahrám Khán, and Ikhtiár Khán. They were every day attacked by the Rájpúts, who sallied out. At length the Sultán himself arrived, and, passing round the fort, encamped at Ginárí, or Girnárí, and entrusted Sídí Ulang with the duty of collecting forage, &c., and to keep open the communications. One day the Rájpúts lay in ambush, surprised and defeated the Sídí, who was bringing up a convoy, which fell into the enemy's hands. The Sídí's loss was heavy. . . The Sultán, for a time, desisted from the attack, and prepared for a regular siege. After relating the preparation of the covered ways (*sábáts* is so translated, [illegible] seems the nearest equivalent term; they seem to have been trenches for this s[illegible]r "zig-zags," roofed in with heavy logs of wood), the "Tab. of approa[illegible] that the Rájah again solicited terms, offering nine *mans* of Akbarí" [illegible] equivalent to two years' consumption of the army. The Sultán gold, and [illegible]e fort must be taken, and said nothing would turn him from it. replied tha[illegible]pplied to Ghiás-ud-dín. Firishtah's account is similar, but The Ráí[illegible]nárí" was on the Málwah road, and puts the amount of gold adds that "[illegible]lephant-loads, which would be about nine *mans*. He says the offered at t[illegible] auxiliaries amounted to sixty thousand men. According to Ráí's troops [illegible]ver, the King himself was first attacked by the Rájpúts, but Firishtah, m[illegible] Hindús as repulsed, and that afterwards the attack on the he describes [illegible]e; but he makes the suspension of the siege to begin before convoy took [illegible]ival, and to end after the battle, in which, he says, the best the Sultán's [illegible]rces fell.

of the Rájpú[illegible]putting an end to it without risk, and with a decent excuse.

† That is [illegible]

He assembled his learned men and *kázis*, told them of the proposition of the Rájah of Chámpánír, and asked them for their advice. They unanimously declared that no Muhammadan sovereign ought to give the required assistance. Upon hearing this Ghiás-ud-dín returned home, and Sultán Mahmúd went back to Chámpánír.* The Ráwal now despaired of relief, and the covered ways were completed. It is said that pieces of wood for constructing the covered ways were bought at one *ashrafí* each.

When the infidels in the fortress were reduced to extremity, they collected their women and children and gave them as food for the flames†; then they rushed out to fight. It is said that everyone was killed except Ráwal Patáí and his minister Dúngar Sí. They were brought wounded before the Sultán, and he gave them into the custody of Nizám Khán. In this interview the Ráwal was most courteously urged to become a Musulmán, but he would not agree. At the end of five months his wounds were cured, and he was brought before the Sultán, who entreated him to become a Musulmán, but he refused. In the end, in accordance with the decree of the learned men and *kázis*, his head was struck off and exposed on a gibbet. Dúngar Sí, the minister, was then led to the gibbet. He dexterously wrested a sword from the hand of an attendant, and attacking Shékhan, son of Kabír, one of the Sultán's connections, killed him by a single blow. In the end the infidel was sent to hell. Of all the family of the Ráwal, two daughters and one son were left. When they were brought into the presence of the Sultán, he sent the girls into his harem and he gave the boy to the son of Saif-ul-Mulk. He was brought up and educated by the Malik, and in the reign of Sultán Muzaffar, son of Mahmúd, he attained the title of Nizám-ul-Mulk,

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that, on his return to Chámpánír, he founded a *jáma' masjid*; from which circumstance people inferred that he was determined to take the fort (however long the time required might be).

† This was the practice termed *johar*, well known as practised often by Rájpúts and Brahmans, especially the former.

and became one of the great nobles. The fort of Chámpánír was taken on the 5th Zí-l-ka'dah H. 889 (24th November A.D. 1484).*

[*Both the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah give a fuller and interesting account of the storm. The former account is accordingly added here, with annotations.*]

[When the covered ways were ready, the troops in the trenches noticed that in the mornings most of the Rájpúts retired to bathe and to worship, leaving only a few on guard. When this was reported to the Sultán, he desired Kiwám-ul-Mulk to take his own personal troops, and the next morning at day-break to sally out of the trenches under his command, and to effect, if possible, an entrance into the fort, adding that there was good hope of success. At daylight next morning, which was the 1st of Zí-l-ka'dah A.H. 889, Kiwám-ul-Mulk, at the head of his men, sprang out of the covered way and put many of the enemy to the sword. A desperate fight ensued. The Rájpúts poured out of the interior of the fort. The Rái and his Rájpúts prepared for the *johar*, while Kiwám-ul-Mulk and his chiefs, who had the glory of martyrdom before their eyes, felt it their duty to fight to the utmost of their power. Some days previously a gun had been brought to bear on the main wall of the fort on the western side, and had effected a serious breach. Malik Áïáz Sultání, watching his opportunity, rushed into this breach with his men, and came like the fury of fate on the people of the fort. Having got inside the main wall, they fought their way up to the roof of the principal gate. Sultán Mahmúd, who had gone into the covered way, now humbly prostrated his face to the ground and gave praise to God and thanks for the victory, and then despatched men in support. The Rájpúts were confounded and lost their

* Firishtah says that the Sultán decided on the attack of Chámpánír in the month of Zí-l-ka'dah 887, and that the first troops reached Chámpánír on the 7th Safar 888=March 17th, 1483. The actual siege, therefore, lasted a year and 253 days, if the fort was taken on 5th Zí-l-ka'dah; if on the 3rd, two days less.

heads. They fired a rocket* against the roof of the gate. By the mercy of God the wind of favour blew, and that very rocket fell on the palace of the Rái. When the Rájpúts saw that affairs were in this condition, they everywhere set fire to the *johar* which they had prepared, and consumed the bodies of their wives and children. All that day and night and the next day the troops remained under arms, fighting. The next morning (the 2nd Zí-l-ka'dah) they forced the gate† and put many to the sword. The Sultán himself came near to the gate. A number of Rájpúts who had thrown their armour away came to the gate of the bath, and seven hundred at once made a charge upon the Sultán. Many were slain on either side. Just then the Rái Patái and his *wazír,* Dúngar Sí, were taken wounded, and brought before the Sultán. The Sultán returned thanks to God, and made them over to Muháfiz Khán till their wounds were cured, and that very day renamed Chámpánír "Muhamadábád." When the city (palace?) was captured the Rájpúts fled to a third line of fortification, but they were turned out of this also on the third day. When Muháfiz Khán reported the Rái Patái's wounds as cured, the Sultán desired him to profess Muhamadanism. The unfortunate Rái‡ declined, and, as he had publicly rejected Muhamadanism, the Ulema ordered his execution and that of his minister. This took place in A.H. 890. In that year the Sultán ordered Mu-

* The word in the original is *hukkah* حقہ which has been usually translated "shell"; and Sir H. Elliot, in a note, p. 408, vol. iv. "Mahomedan Historians," has stated the arguments for either interpretation. The eccentric behaviour of the missile mentioned, both in that place and here, accords so exactly with that of a rocket, and is so opposed to that of a shell, that in the text the word has been preferably given as above. It is not impossible that the rocket may be the oldest fire-arm of any now used.

† There seems some omission here; apparently this fight took place at the gate of the palace. The door of the bath was the natural scene of this last desperate charge, for it is the right conclusion of the *johar* that the men should cast aside all defensive armour, bathe, and then charge naked and sword in hand upon their enemies, and fight till death.

‡ Firishtah gives the speech which the Rái is supposed to have made when first brought before the Sultán, and says the Sultán was very favourably impressed. It amounted to this, that the fort had been handed down to him by his ancestors, and that he would not tarnish their honour by surrendering it. Firishtah says his name was Béni Rái.

háfiz Khán to construct a special fortification * and an outer wall.]

The climate of Champánír was exceedingly agreeable to the Sultán, and he made it a royal residence, and founded there a grand city, and named it Muhamadábád.† He built a fine *masjid* and an outer wall. Nobles and ministers, merchants and tradesmen, also built some houses for their own accommodation. In the outskirts of the city, during A.H. 890, the Sultán formed beautiful gardens, and in a short time the city became so fine and handsome that it made the people of Gujarát forget Ahmadábád,‡ and they all agreed that there was not any place like it in Gujarát, probably not on the face of the whole earth. The lofty buildings of the city were inhabited by the great men of the day. Its gardens were full of flowers of various colours and of fruits of all sorts, especially of mangoes; also grapes, pomegranates, bananas, &c. The sandal wood was so abundant in the neighbourhood that the inhabitants are said to have used it in building their houses. Now, thanks be to God, Champánír is not still the same. Its buildings are in ruins, it is inhabited by the tiger, and its gardens are for the most part jungle, nor is there any sandal wood produced: its very name is unknown.

It is said§ that a man from Khurásán asked the Sultán for a piece of land in the neighbourhood, and offered to make a garden excelling all others. The Sultán consented, and issued an order to assign land to him. He made accordingly a beautiful garden,

* This appears to have been an upper citadel; apparently the remains of the upper fort now existing are of Muhamadan construction, and are attributed to Mahmúd Bígarha, who is said to have named the citadel Mán Mahésh. See "Gazetteer," Kaira and Panch Mahals, p. 190.

† Major Miles, "Asiatic Researches" (Bombay), vol. ii. p. (151) 141, describes the ruins as, in his day, reaching to Hálól, a distance of four miles from the hill.

‡ This digression is, for the most part, here translated only in very brief abstract. The praises of the flowers and fruits, especially of the mangoes, occupying many pages of the original, are not of sufficient interest to warrant reproduction at length.

§ The following stories, told at tedious length in the original, are reproduced here in abstract to illustrate the character of the Sultán and the manners of the day.

with which the Sultán was greatly pleased, as it was on a pattern quite unknown before in Gujarát, and he bestowed presents and favours on the man. Upon this a man of the name of Halú, a Gujarátí carpenter* by origin, said to the Sultán, if allowed, he would make a garden to rival this one. The Sultán replied, "If you can, why not?" and in a short time the man laid out a garden which excelled that of the Khurásání. The Sultán was much astonished, and inquired of him, saying, "The people of Gujarát do not understand this art. Whence did you learn it?" He replied, "When any man skilled in this art was laying out a garden, I got access disguised as an ignorant labourer; and partly from what I heard, and partly from my own genius, I have attained this skill." The Sultán was much pleased at his perseverance and skill, and gave him many presents and a special dress of honour. It is said that part of the buildings attached to this garden are still in existence, and the people of Gujarát call it "Hálól." †

Most of the elegant handicrafts and ingenious arts now practised in Gujarát were introduced under Sultán Mahmúd. Clever men from various distant cities and countries were settled there; and the people of Gujarát were thus, by the Sultán's exertions, instructed in the knowledge and practice of the conveniences and elegancies of civilized life. Before his time they were very rude and ignorant. For example: A connection of the Sultán, who was serving in the army, took leave and went to his home. When he returned thence, he collected some vetches, packed them in baskets, and presented them to the Sultán. The Sultán asked what he had brought. The man replied, "A few vetches, which will afford excellent food for your horses." The Sultán smiled, and the man went on to say: "In the village where I live there is a Kólín woman (*i.e.* a woman of the Kóli tribe) who has a son every year.

* The word in the original is دروذگر *daródgir*, which means a carpenter usually, but also is used in the sense of "artificer."

† Hálól is now the name of a small town near Chámpánír, and gives its name to the *parganah* in which it is situated.

Her husband is dead, and, if the Sultán likes, I will get her for him, so that plenty of sons may be born to him." The Sultán laughed outright, and the man declared with an oath, "She has had seven sons in seven years. I am telling no lie!" To be brief, the Sultán was created by the Lord Almighty solely for the happiness of his people. His time was a time when no one was in any anxiety of mind, but all persons lived in ease and comfort; and in spite of many wars the law and faith of Islám were carried out to the utmost, so that no one dared offend against them, and the reason of this was that the Sultán himself obeyed them and conformed his actions thereto.

It is said that one day a jeweller had made a jewelled *rubáb*,* and was bringing it to the Sultán, when, on the road, he met Kází Tuhm-ud-dín, who was Kází of the city. When the Kází saw the *rubáb*, he called out, "What is this, and whose is it?" The jeweller said, "It is the Sultán's *rubáb*." "Bring it here," cried the Kází, and his followers took the instrument to him. The Kází broke it in pieces and rubbed the jewels together till he ground them to dust. The goldsmith cast dust upon his head and made his complaint to the Sultán, saying, "I have been for many months employed in making a jewelled *rubáb* to your order, and I was bringing it to you when the Kází Tuhm-ud-dín took it from me and destroyed it." The Sultán said not a word; but when the assembly had broken up, and he had withdrawn into private, he said: "The tree which grows by the roadside everyone rubs his hands on it.† This man attacks me, why does he not go to Rasúlábád to Mián Manjlah‡ (*i.e.* Sháh 'A'lam), for he wears silken trousers and is fond of music?" This speech was repeated to the Kází, who wrote out certain verses,§ selected from theological works, about improper dressing and listening to music, and put the papers in

* A musical instrument of the nature of a guitar with four strings, but having a surface of parchment instead of wood; a species of "banjo."

† This sentence is given also in Gujarátí, and is evidently a local proverb.

‡ See note, p. 138.

§ These verses were to be used to defend his action, which he presumed would be condemned by the Saint.

his turban, saying to himself, "I shall show these verses to the Saint; what answer can he make?" Accordingly the next Friday the Kází set out for Rasúlábád, because, except on Fridays, no one could have an interview with the Saint. Six days the Saint remained shut off from the world, in converse with God. On Fridays he received the people, taught and advised them, pointed out the right way to his disciples, or listened to the complaints of those who were in distress, and who poured out to him their spiritual and worldly difficulties. He went on with this business till the time of afternoon prayer; after performing his ablutions for these prayers, he retired into seclusion, and if before the following Friday even the king of the country came to seek an interview, he would have had to go back (disappointed). When the Kází arrived the Saint called him up; as the Kází's eyes fell on the Saint his spirit died within him, and the flames of his severity and bigotry were extinguished. The Kází drew near with all respect, and seated himself on the step opposite the Saint.* The jeweller, too, was seated before the Saint, and, as it happened, he was that day clad in a black woollen cap and old black woollen coat. The Saint said to the Kázi, "What is the paper which you have in your turban?" The Kázi said, "A few verses which I have written out." "What about?" asked the Saint. The Kází in reply deposited the paper in his hands. When the Saint unrolled the paper it was blank, and he said, "You told me you had written something, but this paper is blank." The Kází was troubled, and put up his hand to his turban, but could find nothing more, and became altogether confused. There was a log of wood lying in the court of the building. It fell under the alchemistic gaze of the Saint; its nature was changed and it became pure gold. The Shékh then said to the Kází: "You are a man with a large family; take this and carry it home, it will be of use for your sons." The Kází answered: "I seek not gold, but a place for repentance." "Kází," remarked the Saint, "in

* Some MSS. have "In the place where the slippers are deposited."

my house are singing and music and silken garments; those who altogether approve of them affect my society, will you join us?" The Kází cried, "I approve all, and repent me of my acts." The Saint then told him to pick up, and give him a string which the jeweller had let fall; the Kází gave it to him, and he twisted it round his waist, and stuck a little bit of wood in it dagger-wise. He then told the Kází to bring him the (jeweller's) cap and his old black coat, so torn and tattered that the threads were visible everywhere, and when the Kází gave it to the Saint he put it on; he then performed his ablutions and proceeded towards the *masjid* to perform the Friday prayers. As soon as he set foot outside his house, in the eyes of the beholders the bit of string became a jewelled girdle, the piece of wood an inlaid dagger, and the woollen coat a dress of silk shot with gold. The Saint turned to the Kází and said, "Kází, you and your sons are witness, for ye have seen it, and know what the Almighty makes this appear in the sight of the people and what it really is." After prayers the Kází placed the hand of submission in the Saint's hands, and by degrees became one of his most intimate and approved disciples, and somewhat attained to righteousness.*

In the year H. 891 the Sultán went to Mustafábád, and left the city of Muhamadábád in charge of Muháfiz Khán 'Afw. Completing his business at Mustafábád he returned to Muhamadábád.

In the year H. 892 (A.D. 1487), the Sultán started again for Mustafábád, and on reaching the town of Dhandúkah on the borders of Gujarát and Sórath, he placed the country of Sórath and the fort of Júnahgarh in charge of Prince Khalíl Khán.† He then went to Ahmadábád. A party of merchants came to him complaining that they were bringing four hundred Persian and Turkí horses from 'Irák and Khurásán, and some

* Another anecdote much to the same purport as the above follows; but, as it in no way bears on the history, and is only a glorification of the Saint, it is not given here.

† Afterwards Muzaffar II.

rolls of Hindustání fabrics, with the intention of exhibiting them at the court of Gujarát.* But on reaching the foot of Mount A'bú, the Rájah of Siróhí had seized them all, and had not left them even an old pair of trousers. They professed they sought redress from His Majesty, who was the deputy of God. The Sultán told them to furnish a written statement of the value of the horses and goods. When he had examined it he gave orders for the payment to the merchants out of the royal treasury, and said he would recover it from the Rájah of Siróhí. The money was brought to the Sultán and counted out in his presence to the merchants. The Sultán marched with an army towards Siróhí, and sent a sternly-expressed letter to the Rájah, requiring him to give up instantly the horses and the goods he had taken from the merchants, or the Sultán and his army would follow immediately. The Rájah on receiving the letter surrendered every horse and all the goods, and sent a suitable tribute to the Sultán and abjectly sought forgiveness. The Sultán then returned to Muhamadábád.

For four years the Sultán resided at Muhamadábád in ease and comfort. In the hot weather and the melon season he used to go from thence to Ahmadábád, and after enjoying himself there for three months returned to Muhamadábád. About this time the Sultán learned that Khwájah Muhamad, who bore the title of Khwájah Jahán,† and was a peerless minister,

* This event took place in 892, as both the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" and Firishtah expressly assert. The merchants were coming from Dehli. All accounts agree in the general story. The "Tab. Akbarí" says the horses seized were 403, of which 370 were restored, and the price of the other 33 was paid by the Rájah.

† Khwájah Jahán, that is, Khwájah Mahmúd (not Muhamad, as in the text) Gawán, was a minister of great renown; he was unjustly and cruelly put to death in 886 A.H. as is related in Firishtah's separate account of the Bahmaní dynasty, where the story will be found at full length (Briggs, vol. ii. pp. 505-9.) Mahmúd Gawán was a native of the province of Gílán in Persia, and seems to have surrounded himself by his own countrymen. This practice appears to have been one of the chief causes of the hostility aroused against him among the nobles of the Bahmaní court, which ultimately brought about his downfall. Bahádar Gílání was doubtless one of these countrymen. (See Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in British Museum, pp. 527 and 983; Briggs' Firishtah, vol. ii. p. 511. Three letters written by him to Mahmúd Sháh Bígarha, in the name of his master Muhamad Sháh Bahmaní, are still extant.

had been put to death by Sultán Muhamad (Lashkarí), King of the Dakhin. Thereupon Bahádar Gílání, who had been a *protégé* of the Khwájah, broke out in rebellion at the port of Dábhól. Sultán Muhamad Lashkarí then died, and his son, Sultán Mahmúd Bahmaní was raised to the throne. He was of tender age, and several of the *amírs* of the Dakhin revolted, and confusion forced its way into the administration of the Dakhin. Bahádar Gílání, availing himself of the opportunity thus offered, got possession of several districts of the Dakhin, and, having collected a number of ships, he engaged in piracy along the coasts of that country and off the ports of Gujarát.* The fear of him was so great that no ship dared to go out of or enter into any port of Gujarát.

The reason of his hostility to Gujarát was that the Malik-ut-Tujjár† of the Dakhin, after the murder of Khwájah Jahán, fled from the Dakhin to the port of Kambháiat. Bahádar Gílání sent a person to him from Dábhól to ask for the hand of his daughter. Just then Malik-ut-Tujjár died, and his *wakíl*, Muhamad Khaiát, refused Bahádar Gílání's request, and sent a silly answer, asking how a slave of six generations‡ could presume to ask the hand of a daughter of Malik-ut-Tujjár. When the messenger returned and told Bahádar Gílání, he sent certain desperadoes who treacherously assassinated Muhamad Khaiát. After all, the girl was saved from Bahádar Gílání by the assistance of the people of Kambháiat. Therefore this scoundrel turned against them and practised his piracies all about the ports of Gujarát. For some years no ship dared to go from one port to another, and goods imported by sea became

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah, Bahádar Gílání captured certain of Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha's own vessels and detained the crews in captivity. One of his officers, an Abyssinian named Yakát, is said by Firishtah to have attacked Mahálm with a fleet of twelve ships, and to have sacked and burnt it.

† See note at p. 116 for the origin of this peculiar title; it had apparently become an established one, in use at the Bahmaní court, but there is nothing in the author to show who the holder of it now was.

‡ Probably a mere term of insult. As shown above, Bahádar seems to have been an adventurer from Gílán in Persia.

so difficult to procure that people were reduced to use coriander seed instead of areca nut with their betel.*

The Sultán was enraged on hearing of these proceedings. He sent Malik Sárang Kiwám-ul-Mulk with a large army and fighting elephants against Dábhól by land, and by sea he sent three hundred ships filled with armed men and furnished with guns and muskets. When the land army reached Agáhí (Agásí) and Basai (Bassein) on the borders of Gujarát and the Dakhin, the regents for Sultán Mahmúd Bahmaní reflected that Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí had been a patron to their kings. He had time after time assisted them, and had saved them from being destroyed by Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí of Mandú; gratitude, therefore, required that before he could attack Bahádar they themselves should anticipate him and dislodge Bahádar. It was, moreover, very objectionable that any foreign army should enter their country; strife might arise, and there was no knowing what might be the end of it. The best course was to endeavour to eject Bahádar, and thus avoid

* Apparently, Bahádar Gílání's revolt remained unchecked for some time, for Mahmúd Gawán, as has been seen, was murdered in 886 A.H. The "Tabakát" places the Gujarát expedition against him in 895, which seems to agree with the facts stated in the context, but while the author of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" slurs over the disagreeable part of the narrative, it is given both by Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" at full length. Practically, they both concur in saying that there were two expeditions from Gujarát; the first under Kamál Khán and Safdar Khán, according to the "Tab. Akbarí"; under Safdar Khán alone, according to Firishtah; the other under Kiwám-ul-Mulk. According to the "Tab. Akbarí" the fleet was under Safdar-ul-Mulk, and was wrecked. Kamál Khán, whose force was small, was amused by Bahádar Gílání with offers of submission, and then suddenly attacked, and after a very bloody battle defeated, both leaders being wounded and taken prisoners. According to the account of the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí (which seems the most probable story), Kiwám-ul-Mulk's army was not sent off till the news of this defeat reached Mahmúd Bígarha. What passed then is not quite clear, though apparently Kiwám-ul-Mulk considered it inexpedient to attack without aid from the Dakhin. On this Mahmúd sent an ambassador to the Bahmaní court, and on receiving the formal complaint of the Gujarát King, the Bahmaní Government was roused to vigorous action, which seems to have been necessary as Bahádar aspired to independent sovereignty. The result was a long campaign, or series of campaigns, related at great length by Firishtah, and also by the "Tab. Akbarí," which resulted in the death of Bahádar, and the release of Safdar-ul-Mulk, to whom, according to Firishtah, Bahádar's fleet was made over on his release. Firishtah places the close of this war in 900, but the text would make it not later than early in 899 A.H. Probably Bahádar Gílání fell either at the beginning of 900, or the early part of the previous year.

all occasion of difference. A letter was sent to Sultán Mahmúd Gujarátí, stating that the armies of the Dakhin were his faithful friends, but they required that he would give orders that his army should stop where it was, as the punishment of Bahádar appertained to them. If they failed in effecting it, he could still interfere. In the end the whole army of the Dakhin marched against Bahádar. He offered battle, was defeated, taken alive, and his head was cut off and sent to Sultán Mahmúd Bahmaní, who apprised Mahmúd Gujarátí of the fact and that king withdrew his army.

In the year H. 899 (A.D. 1494), the Sultán led his army to the town of Morásah, because Alaf Khán, *moula-zádah** of the Sultán, who was in charge of the district of Morásah, had become rebellious. On hearing of the approach of the Sultán, Alaf Khán fled to the city of Maimún, otherwise called Kárath,† near the mountains of Lúnawárah. He made no stay there, but went to Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín Khiljí. That monarch, however, did not allow him to remain, in consequence of what had formerly been done by his father 'Alá-ud-dín Suhráb, as has been already described. He went on to Sultánpúr, and in the end the Sultán forgave him; and in the year H. 901‡ the Sultán restored him to his service.§

* *Moula-zádah*: this expression means "an hereditary follower." He was the son of that 'Alá-ud-dín bin Suhráb who had (see p. 135) vindicated his loyalty very much at the expense of his good faith in the reign of Kutb-ud-dín.

† Kárath: this name is variously written Kárshah, Kársah, Kárauth, and Kárnah.

‡ Firishtah says that in 901 Mahmúd marched against I'dar and Bágar, and levied a heavy tribute. This is not mentioned in the text, nor in the "Tab. Akbarí."

§ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," the Sultán's march to Morásah was not caused by Alaf Khán's revolt, but was the cause of it. Alaf Khán had been embezzling the pay of his men, and, when the Sultán drew near, in fear that they should make complaints, and also because he had said some impertinent things, absconded. The Sultán sent Sharf Jehán to reassure him, and bring him back, but without avail. He gave up one hundred elephants to Sharf Jehán, but himself fled to Ghiás-ud-dín; being turned away by him, he fled to Sultánpúr. The Sultán sent a force in pursuit, and near Sultánpúr Alaf Khán turned on his pursuers, and slew one of the leaders and the son of another. Afterwards, as described in the text, he was pardoned by the son, partly for his late father's sake; but three months after his restoration to favour he slew his own Náib Arz Begi, without a cause, and was, in consequence, cast into prison, where he died. Firishtah says he died of poison at Málwah.

In the year H. 904 (A.D. 1499), the Sultán marched towards A'sír, because 'A'dil Khán Fárúkí had failed to send the customary tribute.* On reaching the river Táptí, 'A'dil Khán sent tribute and made apologies. The Sultán then withdrew.† He sent his camp by way of Nandarbár, but he went himself to the fort of Thálnír, and the fort of Dharmál, which 'Imád-ul-Mulk had conquered. Thence he returned to Nandarbár, where he rejoined his camp, and then went to Muhamadábád.

In the year H. 906, intelligence arrived that Sultán Násir-ud-dín, son of Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín, had killed his father and had himself ascended the throne.‡ Sultán Mahmúd was about

* Briggs calls the demand for tribute "a wanton exercise of power," but the general tenor of the history, given by all the writers on this period, goes to show that the Fárúkí rulers (they had not yet permanently assumed the regal state) did owe, more or less, a kind of federal duty to the Gujarát kings.

† Except Firishtah, all the authorities concur in the account of this campaign, though they are not quite at one regarding its date. The "Tab. Akbarí" puts it in 906; the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives no date, but says that the death of Ghiás-ud-dín of Málwah occurred immediately after, which would bring it to 906; Firishtah places it in 905, and, agreeing in the account up to the submission of 'A'dil Khán, gives a long relation of what is said to have occurred afterwards. According to this, after 'A'dil Khán's submission, Sultán Mahmúd marched to Daulatábád to assist Malik Ashraf, who had originally been a *protégé* of Khwájah Mahmúd Gawán, and who having, with his brother become practically independent of the Bahmaní court, had been attacked by Ahmad Khán Bhairí, the founder of the "Nizám Sháhí" dynasty, also originally a noble of the Bahmaní court. Firishtah represents that, on arriving there, the Sultán's camp was attacked at night by Ahmad Khán's men, who, driving an infuriated elephant before them, created a confusion in the Gujarátí camp; and Firishtah goes on to say that Mahmúd was seized with a panic, and fled for several miles. Meanwhile his troops repulsed the attack, but he was nowhere to be found. . . . Shortly afterwards Ahmad Khán Bhairí made a treaty with Sultán Mahmúd, and withdrew. Mahmúd then retired. On his departure Ahmad Khán returned. Mahmúd was again called, and Ahmad Khán retired, but finally returned, and, on Malik Ashraf dying, got peaceable possession of Daulatábád. Firishtah says the Gujarátí authorities suppress all notice of these facts out of tenderness to their favourite hero; but, nevertheless, concludes by expressing some doubt. The only fact which seems to corroborate this relation is the mention of 'Imád Khán's capture of Dharmál in the text, which does not seem otherwise easily explained. *Cf.* Briggs' "Firishtah," vol. iii. pp. 201–43, vol. iv. p. 73.

‡ It is by no means certain that Násir-ud-dín was actually guilty of this crime. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí," which is written in a somewhat hostile spirit, only says that he was suspected of it. Firishtah says that he was accused of it, but expressly and strenuously denied it, and asserts that there existed no motive for it, as Násir-ud-dín had already all the power. Ghiás-ud-dín certainly died at a moment very opportune for Násir-ud-dín's interest; on the other hand, he was old and worn out, and had been subject to an-

to lead his army towards Mandú, but Násir-ud-dín behaved in a conciliatory manner, so he gave up the design.* For seven years from this time the Sultán did not undertake any military enterprise.

In the year H. 913 (A.D. 1507), the Sultán marched with his army to Chéwal, and, in consequence of the disturbances caused by Europeans, he marched towards Basai (Bassein), and Maháím. Upon arriving at Dún he learned that Malik Aiáz,† the Sultán's slave, and the ruler of Díú, had obtained a body of Turks and ten Turkish ships. With these he sailed to the port of Chéwal, and fought with the disorderly Europeans He killed a great many of them, and with his guns sank one large ship heavily laden.‡ Malik Aiáz lost four hundred men, Turks and others, but he returned to Díú in triumph. The Sultán was greatly rejoiced at this, and showed great favour to the Malik, to whom he sent a robe of honour. He returned to Basai, where he remained six days, and then went to his capital, where he arrived on the 11th Muharram, H. 914 (A.D. 1508).

In the year H. 914 (A.D. 1508), 'A'lam Khán,§ son of Hasan

noyance, anxiety, and alarm just before his death, which circumstances were quite sufficient to account for it. On the whole, probably, the case is one for acquittal, even if the circumstances are somewhat suspicious.

* According to Firishtah, Mahmúd discovered and punished a conspiracy among his nobles at Ahmadábád this year.

† Malik Aiáz, who gained this splendid victory, seems to be the same chief who led one of the successful attacks on Champánír. A biographical sketch of him will be found at the end of Mahmúd Bígarha's reign, and further particulars in the account of the reign of Muzaffar Sháh II.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" says the ship's cargo was worth a *krór* of rupees. It is proposed to give, in a later place, a sketch of the relations between the Portuguese and the kings of Gujarát from the Portuguese authorities; more will not, therefore, be said in this place as to these events. The Turkish Sultán had sent a fleet to fight the Portuguese, and it was some of these which came to the aid of Malik Aiáz.

§ The genealogy may be stated thus: Malik Rájah was the virtual founder of the Fárúkí dynasty; 'A'dil Khán Fárúkí I. was, by lineal descent, his right male heir in the fourth generation, being the great grandson of his son Násir. Dying without issue, his brother Dáúd succeeded to the throne. After a brief reign he also died, leaving an infant son, who was soon after poisoned—it is said by Hisám-ud-dín, one of two Moghal brothers who had attained much influence under Dáúd. 'A'lam Khán, the claimant of Mahmúd's protection (who ultimately became 'A'dil Khán Fárúkí II.), was a son of Hasan Khán, who was a legitimate though younger son of Násir Khán,

Khán, son of a daughter of the Sultán (whose father also had been ruler of A'sír and Burhánpúr), induced his mother to write to the Sultán (of Gujarát), stating that it was seven years since 'A'dil Khán, son of Mubárak, died without a son. The nobles had raised to the throne a putative descendant of Malik Rájah, with the title of 'A'dil Khán, and having got possession of the country, were plundering it. If the Sultán would raise him from the dust to the throne of his ancestors, it would be a kind act, and in accord with that gracious protection of the humble which characterised his royal line. When the mother of 'A'lam Khán bin Hasan Khán conveyed this request to the Sultán, he assented to it. In the month of Rájab, having committed A'sír to 'A'lam Khán, he proceeded towards Nandarbár. He passed the Ramazán in the village of Sambalí, on the banks of the Narbadah. He sent to Baródah for Prince Khalíl Khán, and, taking him with him, proceeded to Nandarbár.*

Hisám-ud-dín Móghal, who had possession of half the country of Burhánpúr, had, before this, written secretly to 'A'lam Khán ('A'dil Khán), offering, if he would join him, to use his best endeavours to raise him to the throne of his ancestors. But when he saw that Sultán Mahmúd was also

and who had married the daughter of Mahmúd of Gujarát. He had, therefore, a better right to the throne than anyone claiming through a son of Malik Rájah, even if a legitimate son; but the expression in the text of the best MSS. distinctly implies that he was of, at least, suspicious birth—"*Eki az khánahzádahai aulád*," means "a child by some female servant." The "Khánahzáds" form a peculiar class in many Indian courts. They are the children of favourite personal attendants or followers of the royal family, are brought up with the royal children, and naturally become intimate with them from their earliest youth. . . . The sons often rise to high trust, power, and influence; indeed, they still form an important political clique at some courts. The girls, having free access to the royal apartments, often form irregular connections with the male members of the royal family, though the children of such connections are hardly recognised as legitimate. The claimant put up by Hisám-ud-dín would seem to have come of a son of this class. Some MSS., however, read *Khán-zádah* which would mean the son of a "khán" or younger son, in which case he *may* have been a legitimate descendant.

* This is the reading of the majority of the texts. The lithographed edition and MS. D read "Mahindri" for "Narbadah." The "Tab. Akbarí" says he gave orders for the collection of the army in Rájab, marched in Sha'bán, and encamped and spent Ramazán at Sambalí, on the Narbadah.

intent upon this, he retracted his promise,* and having obtained the support of Nizám-ul-Mulk Baḥrí, ruler of Ahmadnagar, he placed (a pretender) 'A'lam Khán on the throne.† Malik Ládan Khiljí, who held the other half of Burhánpúr, was at enmity with Hisám-ud-dín, so he kept aloof from this transaction and withdrew to the foot of the mountain of A'sír. When Sultán Mahmúd arrived at Thálnír, Nizám-ul-Mulk selected four thousand horsemen, and sent them to the support of Malik Hisám-ud-dín, *wazír* of Burhánpúr; he himself went to his own capital.‡

The Sultán stayed a few days in Thálnír, calculating the state of affairs. He sent A'saf Khán, who for loyalty and intelligence had no peer in his time, along with 'Azíz-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Nandarbár, against Hisám-ul-Mulk, with orders to expel him from the districts of Nandarbár and Sultánpúr, and to win over Ládan Khiljí, and to put him in Hisám-ud-dín's place. When these *amírs* arrived at the town of Ránúbar in the neighbourhood of Burhánpúr, the army of Nizám-ul-Mulk fled with (the pretender) 'A'lam Khán, towards the Dakhin. Hisám-ud-dín ceased from his opposition, and came by another road to Thálnír, where he was allowed to pay

* This account differs from that of Firishtah, according to which Hisám-ud-dín from the first supported the illegitimate claimant, who was also, especially, the nominee of Ahmad Khán Bhairí of Ahmadnagar, in which city, indeed, the boy was living.—Briggs, vol. iv. p. 303.

† As has been seen, this young man was connected illegitimately or legitimately with the royal family of the Fárúkís; indeed, the "Tab. Akbarí" expressly says so. The title given to him is Khán-zádah, which may, as used, signify that, though not a prince, he belonged to a collateral branch of the family of A'sír. Both claimants seem to have been originally named 'A'lam Khán, and both to have assumed the title of 'A'dil Khán, which is rather confusing.

‡ According to Firishtah, 'Imád-ul-Mulk, of Birár, and Ahmad Nizám Sháh Bhairí were both hastening to Burhánpúr, when they heard of Mahmúd Sháh's advance; they, thereupon, contented themselves with sending four thousand horse each to assist Hisám-ud-dín, and fell back. The commanders of their troops, seeing that the Gujarát force was too strong to be resisted, withdrew, and Hisám-ud-dín's venture collapsed. As the pretender, 'A'lam Khán, came originally from Ahmadnagar, it was natural he should withdraw with Ahmad Nizám Sháh's troops. (Cf. Briggs, vol. iii. p. 205, and vol. iv. pp. 75, 76, 303, 304.) The "Tab. Akbarí" and "Táríkh-i-Alfí" agree generally in this account, but the former says that Mahmúd halted himself at Thálnír, being somewhat infirm.

homage to the Sultán. Malik Ládan Khán Khiljí also came in and made his obeisance.

After the *'Íd-uz-zoha* 'A'lam Khán, son of Hasan Khán, was raised to the title of 'A'dil Khán,* four elephants and thirty *lakhs* of *tankahs* were presented to him, and he was established in the government of A'sír and Burhánpúr. Ládan Khán Khiljí was dignified with the title of Khán Jahán, and the village of Banás, in the *parganah* of Sultánpúr, which was his birth-place, was presented to him, and a reconciliation having been effected between him and Hisám-ud-dín, he was appointed to attend 'A'dil Khán. Muhamad Mákhá, son of 'Imád-ul-Mulk A'sírí, received the title of Ghází Khán; Malik 'A'lam Sháh, *thánadár* of Thálnír, that of Kutb Khán; Malik Yúsaf, his brother, that of Saif Khán; and the eldest son of Malik Ládan, that of Mujáhid Khán. All these nobles, with Nusrat-ul-Mulk and Mujáhid-ul-Mulk Gujarátí, were appointed to attend 'A'dil Khán, and he departed to A'sír, reassured, and with great pomp. Sultán Mahmúd then started for his own country. Malik Hisám-ud-dín went with him two stages, as his guest and companion, and when he took leave the village of Dhanúrah, in Sultánpúr, was granted to him in rent-free tenure.†

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says the title was "'Azim Humáiún," and he certainly appears to have held this Gujarátí title, by which he is always mentioned in the Gujarát histories. What happened was, probably, that he assumed the independent style of 'A'dil Khán, and accepted also the Gujarátí title of 'Azim Humáiún as an honorary dignitary of the Gujarát court. He appears at or about this time to have strengthened his connection further by marrying the daughter of his own first cousin, Prince Khalíl Khán, afterwards Muzaffar Sháh II.; she was also own sister to Prince Bahádar Khán, afterwards Bahádar Sháh.

† Both the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah give a long account of the troubles which again arose before 'A'dil Khán was fairly seated on his throne. These do not directly bear on the history of Gujarát—or, at least, only as they gave rise to a second expedition; a brief notice of them will, therefore, suffice. The enmity between Malik Ládan (Khwájah Jahán) and his party on the one hand, and Hisám-ud-dín on the other, soon broke out again. Hisám-ud-dín left the capital, and began again intriguing with Muhamad Mákhá and Ahmad Nizám Sháh Bhairi to bring forward again the pretender 'A'lam Khán. 'A'dil Khán Farúkí summoned him to court, and he came with a large following. After some parleying, Hisám-ud-dín was treacherously assassinated at an interview, and his troops surprised and cut up; but this did not stop the

When Sultán Mahmúd reached Muhamadábád, Prince Khalíl Khán was graciously dismissed to his home at Baródah, and his sons, Sikandar Khán and Latíf Khán, were sent with him. Their younger brother, Bahádar Khán, the Sultán retained with him, and treated him with paternal affection and excessive kindness. He often declared publicly, "This son of mine will be a great king." One day he said to Bahádar Khán, whom he had taken on his knee, "Bahádar Khán, I have besought the Almighty to give you the kingdom of Gujarát, and He has consented."

[*The "Tab. Akbarí" here adds the following important statement*:—In this year Sultán Sikandar Lódí, King of Dehlí, sent some presents, in the way of friendship and kindness, to Sultán Mahmúd. Before this, no king of Dehlí had ever sent a present to any king of Gujarát.]*

In the month of Zí-l-hijjah, A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510), the Sultán went to Pattan, and this was the last journey he ever took; and he, for the last time, had interviews with the chief holy men (of Pattan), such as Mauláná Mu'ín-ud-dín Kazerúní and Mauláná Táj-ud-dín Síwí. He said to them: "I have come this time to take leave of you, for I know that the measure of life is full; pray for me"; and, having given a grand entertainment to all the holy men of Pattan, on the fourth day he

disaffection, nor Ahmad Sháh's intrigues. 'A'dil Khán had, therefore, recourse again to Mahmúd Sháh. Ahmad Nizám Sháh Bhairí sent a counter embassy to advocate the pretender's claims. Mahmúd Sháh took advantage of this embassy to inform Ahmad Nizám Sháh emphatically of his intention to support 'A'dil Khán absolutely, and to threaten Ahmad Sháh with his vengeance if he dared to attack the latter. These threats, supported by a grant of twelve *lakhs* of *tankahs* to 'A'dil Khán, and the march of a strong force under Diláwar Khán, sufficed to check Ahmad Nizám Sháh, and to put a final stop to the rebellion and to the pretender's attempts. The Gujarátí troops, after coercing the Rájah of Gálnah, who had been refractory, withdrew. For fuller particulars, see "Tab. Akbarí" and Briggs' "Firishtah," vol. iii. pp. 205–207, vol. iv. pp. 305–307.

* The importance of this fact consists in its being a virtual recognition by the Dehlí sovereign of the independence of Gujarát, as Firishtah, who also relates the circumstance, expressly notices. It is true, as Briggs points out, that the Dehlí dynasty was a new one, that of the Lódís; but there had been another dynasty between that and the Toghlaks, under whom the Gujarát kings became independent, and the recognition was an important political measure.

departed for Ahmadábád. When he reached Sarkhéj (on his way), he visited the tomb of Shékh Ahmad Khattú. He then gazed with a mournful look upon his own tomb, which he had caused to be built close by that of the Saint, and said: "This is Mahmúd's advanced camp, which he will soon occupy."*

After this he proceeded to Ahmadábád, where he fell ill, and continued so for three months. He sent for Prince Khalíl Khán from Baródah, and told him that his last journey was near at hand, gave him fatherly advice, admonishing him to rule with righteousness and justice, to protect his people, to succour the oppressed, and to crush oppressors. About this time the Sultán grew somewhat better, and sent Prince Khalíl Khán back to Baródah; but, from a complication of diseases arising from the weakness of old age and his impaired digestion, after three months his exhaustion returned, and he grew worse. Although the most skilful physicians tried every remedy, it was of no avail. The Sultán, when he discerned that his end was near, ordered Khalíl Khán to be sent for; but before the Prince could arrive, and meet the last glances of his dear father, the fated hour came, and the Sultán gave up his soul to God, and departed from this world, at the hour of afternoon prayer, on Monday in Ramazán A.H. 917. They carried his bier to Sarkhéj, and buried him in the tomb which he had prepared there. He had reigned fifty-four years and one month; and his age was sixty-seven years and three months.†

* This expression refers to the Indian custom of sending an advanced camp overnight while marching, so as to find shelter ready when the march of the day is completed.

† He was born, according to the "Mírát-i-Sikandarí," on the 20th of Ramazán, 849 A.H. (see p. 129). He ascended the throne on the 1st of Sha'bán, 863 A.H. (p. 161). This account, therefore, does not exactly tally, in regard to the *months* mentioned above. The calculation of the "Tab. Akbarí," which says he died on the 2nd of Ramazán, and that of Firishtah, are still further from the actual results of these dates. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives fifty-four years and one month and two days as the length of his reign, and sixty-eight and a little over as his age, which pretty nearly agrees with the text. The "Tab. Akbarí" says he was called, after death, *Khudáiagán-i-Halím*, "the great gentle Lord," and says of him that he was gentle, merciful, brave, and God-fearing.

In his youth* Sultán Mahmúd had three companions. First, Dariá Khán, who built the great dome to the north side of the fort of Ahmadábád. In length, breadth, and height, this is the largest brick dome in Gujarát. Second, Alaf Khán Bhúkáí, who built the great *masjid* in the vicinity of the town of Dholkah, to the west of the fort. Travellers in many lands are agreed that they have in no country seen so fine a mosque of brick. Third, Malik Muhamad Ikhtiár. When the Sultán came to the throne he attended to their fortunes, made them all *panj-hazárís*, and advanced them to the title of Khán. Malik Ikhtiár would not accept the title of Khán. He said, "My name is Muhamad, what title can be better than that name?" Nevertheless, he accepted the *firmán* conferring it, and always kept it in his possession.

Some time after this the Malik was going out to Mithipúr, which is a suburb of Ahmadábád, in a *pálkí*, and he stopped under a tamarind-tree with spreading leafy branches. The weather was hot, and the shade pleasant, so he rested for some time, and noticed a Mullá who was teaching boys in a corner of the *masjid* close by; the Mullá's name was Shékh Kabír, a descendant of the great Shékh Hamíd Nágórí. The Malik slept a short time, and rose at the time of mid-day prayer, and, having performed his ablutions, joined the Mullá at his devotions. After prayers, the Mullá and the Malik conceived a mutual liking for each other. The Malik went home, but next morning, returning, bent his knee to the Saint, sat down for some time, and then returned home. Having done this for several days, the Shékh told him that if he wished to serve God he must give up all his wealth and worldly prosperity. The Malik asked for time to consider, and went home. He then made provision for his servants, offered to manumit any of his slaves who wished it, and to provide husbands for those

* All the following anecdotes, which in the original are given in somewhat tedious detail, are here reproduced in a somewhat condensed form, and with some omissions, which, however, will be indicated where they occur.

slave-girls who desired to marry, and did as they all respectively wished. He then ordered a list to be made of all Government property in his possession—horses, elephants, money, goods, &c.; and then, going to the Sultán, he read the list, and the grant of his *jágír*, and said he had no further need of them, and that, if there was anything which did not belong to the Sultán, he might give it to anyone else. The Sultán thought he had been offended by somebody, and sought to appease him; but he only said, "I have served the Sultán all my life, for the future I desire to serve no man," and so got up and went home. The Sultán called for his two most intimate friends, Dariá Khán and Alaf Khán, to whom he told all that had passed, and who both declared the Khán must be mad. These two nobles then went to the house of Muhamad Ikhtiár. He sent them word to wait, and sent for a barber. He then came to them with a drawn sword in his hand, and swore that if they interfered with him he would kill them, and, before them, made the barber shave his head, whiskers, and eyebrows. He then sent for his wife, and told her that she had better go to her father and mother, and that, if she desired to marry again, she had full liberty to do so. She replied that where he went she would go too. He said that if she went with him she must forego all worldly things. She said she was willing to do so; upon which he made her bring all her jewels and valuables, and fling them away. He then bade her change clothes with a servant-girl, and, taking her by the hand, led her out of the house before Dariá Khán and Alaf Khán, and went off to the Shékh's house. Dariá Khán and Alaf Khán, astounded and grieved, went back to the Sultán, and told him that the Malik was certainly mad. The Shékh, when they arrived, said, "My wife is within, go to your sister," presented the wife to his family, and said, "Whom think ye that this woman is? She is the wife of the patriarch Abraham; see that you fail no whit of the rules of hospitality." After this, the Shékh began to teach the Malik, and the Malik diligently began to learn,

the way of righteousness. It is said that the Malik used every day to bring a jar full of water for the Shékh from the Sabarmatí river, all along the Tripóliah, a distance of at least a *kós*. One day the Sultán, coming from hunting, saw him doing this, and said to Dariá Khán, "Do you see that mad Malik Muhamad?" Dariá Khán answering "Yes," the Sultán observed, "If the abandonment of the world means all this, it is a very wonderful thing." Dariá Khán replied, "From what I see of this man, I believe it will not be long before the people will bow their heads in the dust before his feet, and will not dare to raise them." At length, as time passed on, the Malik attained to great holiness, and became very greatly renowned, so that thousands of people used to collect at his door to do him homage. At length the Shékh found his days drawing to an end, and desired to withdraw from public duties into quiet and privacy, and to instal Malik Muhamad Ikhtiár in his place. On hearing this, the Malik became much disturbed and grieved, and endeavoured to diminish his popularity and drive away the people, in the following manner:—If a nobleman came to see him mounted on a fine horse, the Malik would ask the nobleman if it was his property, and if he said "Yes," would ask him to give it to such and such a person; the man would probably give it, but he would not come a second time. Similarly, if anyone came with a sword or other article of value, he would desire him to surrender it to the poor and needy. The people took offence, and desisted from coming to him; indeed, would go out of the way to avoid him; nevertheless, in the end this also gradually increased his fame, and he became more and more celebrated and reverenced. Someone told Shékh 'A'lam that one of his favourite disciples had joined Muhamad Ikhtiár. He said, "He is wrong;—

> "If you to Ikhtiár would go,
> You must both wealth and wisdom show."*

* This seems to be a jest on the Malik's practice, above described, of despoiling his devotees.

One day they met accidentally; each asked the other for a garment. Malik Ikhtiár said, "Nay, but this it is the province of Saints to give." "But," replied Sháh 'A'lam, "the Malik is one of these." At last Sháh 'A'lam gave the Malik his outer garment, and the Malik laid his head at the Shékh's feet.*

Another distinguished noble was Dáwar-ul-Mulk; whose proper name was Abd-ul-Latíf. He was of the family of Malik Mahmúd Koreishí.† When the Sultán took him into favour, and gave him the title of Dáwar-ul-Mulk, his soldiers and followers used to crowd up the lane leading to his house. He offered his house for sale to his neighbours, who were much astonished.‡ At last he left the city, and built a house outside, lest the crowd of men and horses and elephants, &c., on the way to his house, should annoy his neighbours. He collected the produce of his *jágír* according to the sacred law, and never took more. If any other noble was ruining his *jágír*, the cultivators came to him voluntarily, and so his *jágír* was very prosperous. The Sultán's son-in-law cast his eyes on the Malik's *jágír*, and begged the Sultán to give it to him, saying that whatever *jágír* was given to the Malik, it would prosper. The Sultán refused; and that reprobate employed two of his soldiers to assassinate the Malik. Watching their opportunity, they attempted it; but the Almighty protected him, and the wounds were not fatal.§ The men were captured; the Malik asked why they had done this; they replied that they had daughters grown up, and could not afford to give them in marriage, and the Sultán's son-in-law, by promise of a high reward, tempted them to this act. The Malik replied, "You say right. Poverty is the kind of thing that makes the indigent do acts which should never be done," and he desired that they should

* The point of this story is a contest of professed humility. For a Saint to give a disciple a garment was a species of investiture, or reception into the number of his disciples. Evidently, Sháh 'A'lam gave way, and practically admitted the Malik as *his* disciple and deputy. See "Qánoon-i-Islám," p. 300.

† Some MSS. read, "son of Malik Mahmúd Koreishí."

‡ Because he was now wealthy, and could afford to maintain or enlarge his house.

§ MS. A reads, "they failed to do him any injury."

be furnished with all they needed. One day, in a campaign against the infidels, the Malik crossed the Ran, which is salt like the sea, and on the third day again reached an inhabited country. He rested, and for a short time slept under a tree; when he awoke, he found that his men had turned their horses loose to graze in the standing crops. He rebuked them, and they replied that for three days neither man nor beast had seen anything to eat, and though they themselves, from fear of God, refrained from trespassing on the property of others, their animals, which were without sense or knowledge, could not be expected to do so, and should not be blamed. The Malik replied that, though they restrained themselves from fear of God, yet they were guilty, for they had loosed the animals and left them where they were naturally led to trample down the fields.* He was a disciple of Sháh 'A'lam, and from his intercourse with him attained to sanctity. Many persons, especially from the Dakhin (still) visit the tomb of the Malik, which is in the province of Sórath, for the attainment of their various desires, and return satisfied. After some time, in consequence of this intimacy with Sháh 'A'lam, the Sultán detached the Malik to the post of Amrún, which is on the borders of Gujarát, and ten *kós* from Mortí, and was then the centre of infidelity, and a very mine of rebels and wicked men. As soon as he got there he worked day and night, fighting against the infidels of that and the neighbouring districts; and by force of arms all infidelity was brought into subjection, so that the *grássiahs* of Amrún came in and paid their respects. Among them was a scoundrel who, out of enmity to the rulers of the right faith, said to the Malik that a certain *grássiah* who was coming to visit him had a very beautiful sword, and suggested that the Malik should make a point of taking it and drawing it out of its sheath to look at it. At the same time, he told this *grássiah* that the

* The next few lines are a bare abstract of the original text, which gives anecdotes of a miraculous cure performed by Sháh 'A'lam in the Malik's presence, and other items in glorification of the Saint, which have nothing to do with the present history.

Malik intended treacherously to kill him, and that when the Malik took his sword and drew it from its scabbard it was the signal for his slaughter; and advised him to be beforehand, and, on the spot, to kill the Malik. Both the Malik and the *grássiah* acted on the insidious advice given, and, when the former drew the sword from its sheath, the other at once slew him.

Another of the Sultán's great nobles was Malik Aíáz.* He was originally a purchased slave, yet he attained to the rule of provinces and to unlimited wealth. Besides his other retainers, he had a thousand water-carriers, to draw water, and he made a vast reservoir of leather, and when on a campaign the water-carriers used to fill this, and men, horses, elephants, &c. all got water from it. He left many works behind him in Gujarát. For example, the fort which he built at Díú, though the Firangís have since destroyed it, and have erected another. He also erected a bastion in the middle of the sea, which was called the Sangal Kóthah, and from which he drew chains to the shore, so as to prevent the ships of the Firangís from entering in that way. It is still standing; but, after the death of Bahádar Sháh, the grandson of Mahmúd, the fort, city, and port all fell into the hands of the Firangís. The gardens, also, in the island of Díú, were laid out by him, and on the side of the island of Díú where the sea parts into two channels he built a bridge, and though the Firangís have ruined it, it may be seen on the map of the island which still exists. During the rule of the Malik no Firangí ship dare enter a port of Gujarát. Now-a-days not a vessel dare leave a port of Gujarát without a pass from the Firangís, except, perhaps, from Súrat, and then only by boldness and gallantry on the part of the crew.

Every day, when dinner was served, the Malik ordered that

* Some authorities declare he was a renegade Portuguese, but this assertion seems opposed to such an origin. He was possibly a slave brought from the southern provinces of Europe, or Asia Minor, or Armenia, by the Turks.

they should sound a trumpet, and that the porters of the gate should invite anyone who wished to come and sit down at the tables. From the chief table to the lowest exactly the same food was served, and the Malik used to watch right and left, and if he perceived the slightest difference in the food he was extremely angry. Every species of food was placed on the table, whether that eaten by the people of Persia, of Rúm, or of India, and it was like the food of Paradise. After dinner was finished, the Malik's servants served everyone with drink of the greatest excellence. After that, *atr* and *pán* were brought. This was the regular daily fashion of his dining. It is said that the Malik's troops were all clad in velvet and gold brocade. The very scavengers had coats of broadcloth. The bars and rivets of their swords, the quivers, and the daggers, were all of gold. It is related that later on, in the time of Sultán Muzaffar, the son of Mahmúd, Ráná Sangá, with some hundred thousand horse, came to Ahmadnagar, ten *kós* from I'dar. The troops of Sultán Muzaffar were scattered over the country, and delay occurred while they were collected. Nizám Sháh Bahmaní, and several of the local *jágírdárs* of the province of Ahmadnagar, with four thousand horse, several times engaged and defeated the Ráná's forces; but at last some three thousand of his men had fallen, and he himself had been slightly wounded, though they had slain nearly seven thousand of the Rájpút horsemen. Sultán Muzaffar, on hearing this, summoned Malik Aíáz from Sórath, who came with all expedition; and the Sultán despatched him, with several nobles and a large force, against the Ráná; but the latter retired without giving battle, and the Malik pursued him. It is said that during all this rapid marching, and amid the turmoil of war, all the *amírs* of note were every day invited to the Malik's table, and to those who did not come he used to send a dinner. Several of them, who considered themselves quite the equals of the Malik, were displeased at this action, and desired their servants not to send back the china plates and dishes, so that he might not

send another dinner. When this had gone on for three days the Malik's servants, being unable to get back the dishes and plates from the *amírs'* tents, told their master of what had happened; he said it was wrong in the *amírs*, but, nevertheless, that they should go on sending the dinners daily, and should not ask for the plates. This went on for a month; at the end of the month, overcome by the generosity and by the plenty of the Malik, the *amírs* sent back the plates, and acknowledged the Malik's liberality. Moreover, when the Malik had pursued the Ráná to the city of Mandisór, the Ráná sent a party of Rájpúts to make a night attack, who, having killed a number of horses, retired. The Malik immediately told them to bury the dead horses, and to take a similar number of horses of the same colour from his own stables to replace them. He left only seven dead and wounded horses. The Ráná's spies came in in the morning, and reported that there were only seven horses killed and wounded in the night attack. The Ráná called the men who made the attack, and rebuked them because they said that they had destroyed a great many horses, whereas the spies reported only seven were killed and wounded.

The Malik had three sons, Ishák, entitled Changéz Khán, Malik Toghán, and Itiás. Ishák was exceedingly obese and large. He usually rode a camel, for no horse was able to carry him. Nevertheless, he was very active, and an excellent wrestler, and so powerful that no athlete could compete with him. Eventually, in the time of Bahádar Sháh, that king was persuaded by Rímí Khán to put all the three sons of Malik Aíáz to death, as will be explained in due course.* Ishák is said to have had a hundred wives—regular and irregular—all of whom he made so fond of him that, on his death, many of them committed suicide.†

* Nothing is said of this, though the revolt of one of them is mentioned in the sequel.

† Some of them were possibly Hindús in origin, to whom the idea of *satí* would be familiar.

Malik Aíáz died in the reign of Sultán Muzaffar bin Mahmúd.*

Another of the chief nobles of the Sultán was Malik Sha'bán. He had the title Malik-i-Shark. He likewise was a purchased slave of Sultán Muhamad bin Ahmad Sháh. He became great under Sultán Mahmúd, and attained to the dignity of *wazír*. He was a very ingenious man, and of a very gentle disposition. It is said that in his time there was no *wazír* like him, either in the East or West. He kept all the people of the Lord contented under his government. He laid out a garden in the *parganah* of Ahmadábád, with a lofty *masjid* to the east of the city, which is called the Bágh Sha'bán. Eventually he became a devotee,† and retired into religious privacy. Although the Sultán pressed him to perform the duties of *wazír*, he declined, and said that in one day in his garden and in his retirement he had more rest than in all his life before. To the end of his life he never stirred out of his garden, and died there, and was buried in the court-yard of the *masjid*. God be merciful to him!

Another was Khudáwand Khán.‡ 'Ilímpúr, one of the hamlets of the city, towards the south, in which there is a large *masjid*, was built by him. The *masjid* is of stone, and the floor of it of marble brought from a distance of twenty-two *kós*. He was son-in-law to Sultán Muhamad bin Sultán Ahmad. He was eloquent, and quick of tongue, and could speak in all languages. He was unequalled as an archer, and in playing with balls.§ It is said that he used to make diligent search for young fig-plants as reeds for his arrows.‖ He

* The death of Malik Aíáz is related in its place. As has been seen, he ordered and led the decisive attack at the storming of Chámpánír, and he also gained a great naval victory over the Portuguese. He was a man of great mark, but he fell somewhat into disgrace in the end, as will be seen presently.

† The word is تائب *táib*, literally, "a penitent." A further account of his garden and of himself is to be found in the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí."

‡ He was called Malik 'Ilím, the "learned lord."

§ This term is applied to the juggling trick of keeping several balls in the air at once.

‖ This passage is rather obscure.

several times revolted against the Sultán, who always pardoned him, and who used to say, "If I put Malik 'Ilím to death, I might as well banish myself, for where in Gujarát can I get another like him?" In the end he, too, became a devotee,* and lived in retirement for the rest of his life.

Another noble was Alaf Khán Bhúkáí, who built the *masjid* and stone tent at Dhólkah; and another Dariá Khán, who founded the hamlet known as Dariápúr, without the city wall of Ahmadábád on the northern side, both of whom have been already mentioned. Another† was the poet Hájí Khán, who built a grand *masjid* in Hájípúr, outside the wall of the city, on the northern side.

'Imád-ul-Mulk Malik 'Aín was another. He built 'Aínpúrah, between Batóh and Rasúlábád, which is one of the most beautiful of the suburbs of Ahmadábád. Sháh 'A'lam used to call it "Blessed on both sides," because it had, to the south, Batóh, where is the tomb of the Saint Kutb-ul-Kutáb, and, on the north, Rasúlábád, which contained the house, and afterwards the tomb, of Sháh 'A'lam. The tomb of Malik 'Aín is just outside the wall of the hamlet, and there is within it a fine *masjid* and a tank.‡

Another of Sultán Mahmúd's nobles was Táj Khán Salár.§ He was a very brave and valiant man, so much so, indeed, that after his death no other noble would accept his title, on the ground that the valorous exploits which he had performed were not within the capacity of any other man, and that they feared injurious comparisons. After some time, in the reign of Mu-

* Other anecdotes of Khudáwand Khán are to be found in the previous part of this work, at pp. 169, 191, 202. He was clearly a clever, restless man, of little scruple or principle; but the Sultán valued him, and continued to employ him, even after the plot to raise Prince Ahmad Khán to the throne. Indeed, he seems, partly perhaps from motives of policy, partly from personal liking to Khudáwand Khán, to have made a sort of joke of that affair.

† This name is omitted in some MSS., and the order of the names differs in most MSS.

‡ The description of the beauties of 'Aínpúrah is omitted. It is prolix and uninteresting.

§ *Salár* may be a title (for *Sipah Sálár*, "commander-in-chief"), or a proper name. In another passage, *infra*, p. 240, he is called Táj Khán *bin* Salár.

zaffar Sháh, Táj Khán Túrpálí, who built the tomb of Sháh 'A'lam Bukhárí, was honoured with this title, and maintained well its reputation, indeed, further exalted it. Tájpúr, which is within the city wall of Ahmadábád, on the south side, was built by him.

Another noble of the Court was Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang. He was a boy of Rájpút extraction, whose original name was Sárang, and his brother's name was Múlá. Both of them were captives taken by the Sultán, who converted them to Islám. Malik Amír Kamál, the poet, the boon companion of Sultán Bahádar, and celebrated for his witty sayings, was one of his descendants.

Both the brothers enjoyed the close intimacy of the Sultán. It is said that Sárang was very disrespectful in his language. Sárangpúr and the *masjid*, which are on the east of the city without the walls, were built by him. Another noble was Hájí Kálú. He also was a slave of the Sultán. He built Kálúpúrah, which is inside the city wall, to the east of the city. It is reported that this slave was an eloquent and able man. Besides all these were the two brothers, 'Azim and Mu'azim. They were Khurásánís, and very skilful archers. There is at Sháh Gumán, between Sarkhéj and Ahmadábád, a dry tank which will not hold water, and a tomb, and a *masjid* close by, which were built by them. They both lie buried in the tomb. The people of Gujarát have a story of a crime committed by one of these two brothers, which is not fit for repetition.*

Mahmúd Sultán had four sons born to him. 1. Muhamad Kálá, whose mother was Rání Rúp Manjarí. She was previously the wife of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín, and after his death came to Sultán Mahmúd. The prince and his mother both died in the lifetime of the Sultán, and the Rání's tomb in

* This expression may be accepted as showing that the writer did not publish wilfully anything which he considered coarse or indecent. Nevertheless, there are a few passages which, on this score, are necessarily omitted or modified in translation. It is a popular superstition in India that, if a bad man form a tank, it will not hold water.

Mánik Chok at Ahmadábád is well known. 2. A'bá Khán. His mother's name was Rání Pírái, whose tomb is situated near the Asróriah gate. A'bá Khán was poisoned by his father's order. He had gone into someone's house, who found him there and thrashed him. This reached the ears of the Sultán, who ordered that poison should be put in his wine. 3. Ahmad Khán, who was nicknamed Khudáwand Khán's Ahmad Sháh* and who has been previously mentioned. 4. Khalíl Khán, heir-apparent of the Sultán, who received the title of Sultán Muzaffar. He was born on the morning of Wednesday the 6th Sha'bán, A.H. 880 (6th of December, A.D. 1475). The date is given by the word *farkh*.† Since he was a child of pleasant, gracious appearance, he was named Khalíl Khán.‡ His mother's name was Rání Harbái, daughter of the Táh Ránah, a Rájpút *zamíndár* on the banks of the Mahíndrí. On the fourth or fifth day after his birth the Rání died, greatly to the grief and affliction of the Sultán. It is said that when Sultán Muzaffar was born, the Sultán Mahmúd took him on the cloth on which he lay to the widow of Sultán Muhamad, the Sultán's step-mother, whose name was Háns Bái.§ She had often asked the Sultán to give her one of his sons to adopt and bring up. The Rání educated him with even more than a mother's care, and Sultán Muhamad used to say, whenever he saw him, "The line of my kingly ancestors will be carried on by this boy, and by his descendants"; and this was the case, even though his elder brother, A'bá Khán, was then still alive, and everyone expected that the government would devolve on him, because the rule and administration of the kingdom had already, even in the Sultán's lifetime, been made over to him.

* This was evidently a popular nickname, given in derision, with reference to the abortive attempt at insurrection recorded at p. 202. This attempt seems, however, to have cost Ahmad Khán the throne.

† *Farkh* ("the young one"), gives 880 by the *abjad* method of chronograms.

‡ *Khalíl*, "a sincere friend."

§ *Háns*, the popular Hindí or Gujarátí name for birds of the swan tribe. The name would, therefore, be the "Swan(like) Lady."

However, the fortune of Muzaffar Sháh prevailed, and A'bá Khán died before Sultán Muhamad.

It must be said that towards the close of the lifetime of Sultán Mahmúd, Säíd Muhamad Jónpúrí, who claimed to be the Mahdí,* came from Jónpúr to Ahmadábád, and took up his abode at the *masjid* of Táj Khán bin Salár, which is near the Jamáhpúrah gate, and used often there to preach and recite the prayers; the people of the city resorted to him in groups. Säíd Sháh Shékh Jiú, the son of Säíd Muhamad,† son of the Saint Säíd Burhán-ud-dín, went to call on him, and, sitting opposite to him in the *masjid*, quoted a verse of the Kurán appropriate to the occasion. Säíd Muhamad Jónpúrí replied with another. Sháh Shékh Jiú quoted a second, and Muhamad Jónpúrí quoted another in answer; a third time Shékh Jiú did the same thing, and received a similar reply. He then went away. One of his intimate friends, by the way, questioned him about Muhamad Jónpúrí. He said, "I consider him to be a man who speaks to the many what should be said to the few,‡ and

* دعوای مهدیت کرد *da'wá-i-mahdiat kard* (or, in some MSS. دعوی مهدیت). This man enjoyed considerable notoriety in India. He was a son of Mír Säíd Khán of Jónpúr, and was the first man who, in India at any rate, claimed to be the Imám Mahdí, or "Restorer of Islám." For a full account of this belief in the coming of an Imám Mahdí ("the Lord of the period"), and of the movements to which it gave rise in India, see the Introduction to Blochmann's translation of the "'A'ín-i-Akbarí," pp. iii. to v., where also will be found an account of this Säíd Muhamad Jónpúrí, though this, in some respects, differs from that of the text. According to the former account, he went from Gujarát to Mekkah, and, being driven thence, it was revealed to him that his teaching was vexatious, and he announced his intention of recanting. It is said that Mahmúd of Gujarát became his disciple; but on this point, perhaps, the account in the text may be preferred. Säíd Muhamad died in 911 A.H. (1505 A.D.); nor is it said by Blochmann that he met a violent death, as alleged in the text; but it is added that his tomb became a place of pilgrimage, though Sháh Ismáíl and Sháh Thanésh tried to destroy it. Badaóní speaks of him as a great saint, and this, perhaps, was the real feeling of the writer of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí," whose prejudices always inclined to mystics of every [illegible]. His disciples still exist in India, and are known as *Ghair-Mahdvis*, believing, that is to say, in the future coming of no Mahdi, believing Säíd Muhamad to have been the Mahdi, and to be dead and passed. —"Qánoon-i-Islám," 2nd ed., p. 260.

† According to the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," Säíd Muhamad was the eighth son of Säíd Burhán-ud-dín.

‡ Apparently, the Säíd is made, at least, not to deny the doctrine of Säíd Muhamad Jónpúrí, but to consider that it ought not to have been publicly declared at all, except to a few chosen disciples.

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he does not suit his discourses to the understanding o. hearers. I believe that after his death a schism will ar.. among his followers." It is said that the preaching of Sáíd Muhamad was so efficacious that all who heard him abandoned the world and became devotees.* Sultán Mahmúd wished to hear him, but his ministers would not allow him, lest he, too, should be affected by the Sáíd's words, and the affairs of the kingdom should come to a standstill.

It is said that one night a lover visited his mistress and quarrelled with her. Towards morning he left her house in a rage, and went towards his own with a drawn sword in his hand. Just at sunrise he found the Sáíd with some of his disciples standing by the bank of the river Sábarmati. He demanded of them, "On what business have you come, and what are you doing here?" The Sáíd said: "He who has quarrelled with his love, by my instruction shall attain to virtue."† On hearing this speech the man burst a blood-vessel and became insensible, and after he came to himself he came to the Sáíd for instruction and became a devotee.*

One day the Sáíd said: "I will manifest the Lord upon the earth in this body."‡ As soon as this was told to the 'Ulemá of Ahmadábád they determined on the Sáíd's death, and issued a *fatwá* against him§; but Mauláná Táj Muhamad, who was the wisest of the 'Ulemá of his time, when they brought him the paper to get his assent, put it aside, and in lieu wrote, "O 'Ulemá, have you learned wisdom for this, that you should give a *fatwá* for Sáíd Muhamad's death." This caused the counsel of the 'Ulemá to fall through. Soon after this the Sáíd went to Pattan, and settled three *kós* from Pattan, at a village called

* Literally: "Put on the garment of abandonment of the world and the cap of poverty."

† Several versions are given of this speech; the shortest is here selected.

‡ There is some doubt as to the proper rendering of this speech, as the MSS. differ in some important words.

§ The remainder of the story is given in the version of the Hyderábád MS., which, as it is written in a sense favourable to the Sáíd, probably gives the real meaning of the author, who, as already remarked, was a favourer of all mystics and devotees.

, and gave himself out to be the Mahdí. The 'Ulemá Pattan, as soon as they heard of it, set about to kill him, and the Säíd departed to Hindustán, and thence to Khurásán. There is a village near Kandahár called Farrah. When he got there the people mobbed and killed him; but the Mahdawís say he died a natural death, and that nobody killed him. God knows the truth.* This happened in the year H. 910 (A.D. 1505).

* According to the story given by Blochmann, the Säíd died while on his return from Makkah to Hindustán.

CHAPTER IX.

REIGN OF SULTÁN MUZAFFAR II.

On the evening of Tuesday, the third of the month of fasting (Ramazán), the day after the death of Sultán Mahmúd, Sultán Muzaffar arrived at Ahmadábád from Baródah,* and the *wazírs* and nobles went out to meet him; and on Friday the 7th of the month of Ramazán, A.H. 917 (29th November, A.D. 1511), and in the twenty-seventh† year of his age, Sultán Muzaffar ascended the throne of his ancestors, and according to custom distributed money, horses, and robes among the nobles, soldiers, acquaintances, and people, according to their degree. The following received titles:—

Rashíd-ul-Mulk	became	Khudáwand Khán and *wazír*.
Khush-kadam	„	Muhtas Khán.
Malik Burhán	„	Mansúr Khán.
Malik Kutb	„	'Azd-ul-Mulk.
Malik Mubárak Mu'in	„	Iftikhár-ul-Mulk.
Nasír Shádí	„	Mubáriz-ul-Mulk.
Malik Shékh Tamím	„	Ta-aíd-ul-Mulk.
Malik Sháh	„	Rukn-ul-Mulk.

* There seems to be some difference between historians as to the exact date of these events, but probably the above account, which is in accordance with that of the "Tab. Akbarí," may be accepted as correct, and it may be said that Mahmúd died at the hour of afternoon prayer, on Ramazán 2nd, 917, and that Muzaffar arrived at Ahmadábád late in the afternoon of the following day.

† According to the statement (*ante*, p. 239) which gives Muzaffar's birth as occurring in A.H. 880, he would be in his *thirty*-seventh, not *twenty*-seventh year.

These were all *amírs* who had been companions of, and had served the Sultán when he was prince. The nobles of the late reign also received promotion and augmentation of their *jágírs*. Religious and learned men obtained suitable presents, and all ranks were made happy and prayed for the Sultán's prosperity.

After this, in the month of Shawál, it was announced that Mírza Ibráhím Khán,* the Envoy of Ismáil Sháh of Irák and Khurásán, had arrived. The Sultán sent out Malik Shark, Hamíd-ul-Mulk, Kutb-ul-Mulk, and a following of nobles to welcome him, and on the 25th of the same month they escorted him; and he, with forty men of the Kazilbásh tribe, was admitted to an audience, and laid before the Sultán, as an offering, a turquoise cup of great value, a chest full of jewels, many valuable tissues, and thirty Persian horses. The Sultán received the Mírza with great favour and with paternal kindness, and bestowed on him and on each of his companions magnificent dresses of honour, and desired that they should be suitably lodged, and that a guard should be placed for their protection. A few days later the Sultán set out for Baródah and founded a city in that district, which he named Daulatábád.† In this interval intelligence was received that Khwájah Jahán, eunuch of the late Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, and chief of the nobles, had rebelled, and having ousted Sultán Mahmúd, son of Násir-ud-dín, King of Mandú, had placed upon the throne his younger brother, Sultán Muhamad. Thereupon Sultán Mahmúd, having gathered a large following, laid siege to the fort of Mandú, and fighting went on for some time. At length Mahmúd prevailed, and Muhamad fled for refuge to

* In the "Tab. Akbarí" the Envoy is called Yadgár Beg Kazilbásh, and his companions are said to have been all Kazilbáshes. In the text they are called *Táj-póshán* or "cap-wearers," in reference to the tall Kazilbásh cap. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that when the embassy, which was originally accredited to him, was mentioned to him, he told his courtiers not to introduce them to him as they were Shíahs; but he died before their arrival.

† Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" both say that he *renamed* Baródah Daulatábád. The expression used in the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" seems to imply that the Sultán built an adjacent city or new quarter, which has since merged in Baródah.

Sultán Muzaffar. He halted near Muhamadábád. When his letter, with a statement of the circumstances, reached Sultán Muzaffar, he directed Muháfiz Khán, *dárógháh* of the city of Ahmadábád, to receive the fugitive prince with all honours, and to furnish him with all he required. After he had rested from the fatigue of the journey, Muháfiz Khán was desired to send him on to court. Muháfiz Khán carefully obeyed his instructions, and after a few days Muhamad went to the Sultán, who received him with great kindness and hospitality.* The Sultán promised him that, after the rainy season, he would march against Mandú, and, equally dividing the country of Málwah, would assign one portion to him and the other to Sultán Mahmúd bin Násir-ud-dín.†

After this he sent Kaisar Khán to the garrison of Dahód on the frontier of the country of Mandú, with directions to call in the *zamíndárs*, make himself acquainted with what was going on in that neighbourhood, and to be liberal with his gifts, so that the soldiers, who were to be employed, might be informed of the enterprise in view, and might prepare their outfit. The Sultán himself went to the village of Mór Imlí, which was the hunting-ground of the late Sultán Mahmúd, where he amused himself with sport. Here he was visited by his son-in-law, Masnad-'álá 'A'dil Khán 'Azim Humáiún, ruler of A'sír and Burhánpúr, who came with his sons, and after staying a few days returned.‡ The Sultán proceeded to Muhamadábád.

One day it so happened that words passed between some followers of Sháhzádah Sultán Muhamad and some followers

* These events, which properly belong to the history of Málwah, are only given in slight outline in the text. It may be said, however, that a nobleman called Muháfiz Khán was associated with Khwájah Jahán. Neither Sáhib Khán (the real name of Sultán Muhamad) nor Mahmúd was direct heir of their father; but an elder son, who was deposed, and afterwards died. Muháfiz Khán first sided with Mahmúd, but eventually quarrelled with him and proclaimed Sáhib Khán.

† According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and Firishtah, Sáhib Khán was impatient at the inaction of Kaisar Khán, and this promise was made to pacify him.

‡ This, according to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," was a mere visit of congratulation on Muzaffar's accession.

of Mírza Ibráhím, the Persian Envoy, because the Sháhzádah had a jewel of great value which the Mírza wished to get, but had not bought because of its high price, and they quarrelled over the bargaining. The Sháhzádah, who was young and inexperienced, went in the evening, with a small following, to the house of one of his old servants, who lived in the same *serai* as that in which Mírza Ibráhím was putting up. Some slanderer told the Mírza that the Sháhzádah intended to take to flight, and would plunder his property and his horses, and that there was nothing to prevent his coming into the *serai*; he, therefore, advised him to place the Sháhzádah in confinement for the night, and said that the Sultán would no doubt approve of his doing so when informed the next morning. The Mírza very imprudently shut the doors of the *serai*, and at midnight carried off the Sháhzádah to his own house, and kept him there. At daybreak the Sháhzádah escaped, and, collecting his retainers, set afloat a cry in the city and in the bazárs that an order had been issued to plunder all the Kazilbáshes; for the Prince was excited and affronted, and violently angry. As soon as this report got abroad, a great crowd collected round the door of Mírza Ibráhím's *serai*, and all the Kazilbáshes collected round to defend it; but they were overpowered by numbers. The door was burst open and all the Kazilbáshes were slain; the buildings were set on fire, and the people set to work to plunder. This was reported to the Sultán, who immediately despatched 'Imád-ul-Mulk with the royal elephants to put down the riot, and to see that no harm happened to the Kazilbáshes. 'Imád-ul-Mulk went off, put down the riot, punished some vagabonds, and preserved Mírza Ibráhím himself from harm personally, and took him to the Sultán's female apartments, where the Sultán at once provided him with rooms. The Mírza complained that his losses amounted to six *lakhs* of *tankahs* of Gujarát currency, that *tankah* being worth eight Murádí *tankahs*—as at the present time this *tankah* is still current in Khándésh and in the Dakhin.

The Sultán paid the money from his treasury. On Friday, the 14th of the month of Ramazán, he bestowed on the ambassador another *lakh* of *tankahs*, and valuable dresses of honour, and dismissed him, and appointed Khurásán Khán to escort him, in order that by every manifestation of respect the sense of his injury might be obliterated; and seven formidable elephants, some wondrous horse-armour, a wolf and other animals, and birds, and various strange and curious things, and embroidered fabrics and other goods, were entrusted to Khurásán Khán for Ismáil Sháh, and two great ships were provided to convey the Mírza and his followers, and, besides all this, an enormous quantity of all things required for the journey was given to the Mírza.*

This affray greatly annoyed the Sultán, and he became somewhat estranged from Sultán Muhamad. The latter having received an invitation from several *amírs* of repute in Málwah, went off without taking leave of the Sultán.† This step became known to Sultán Mahmúd bin Násir-ud-dín, who was also aware of the intrigues of the *amírs*. He assembled an army of Hindús, and gave to their leader the title of Médiní Ráó,‡ to

* This detailed account is given only in the printed edition of the text. All the MSS. and the other historians only give it in a more or less compressed form. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and Firishtah intimate that the ambassador was unpopular—possibly, as a heretic—and say that he went by the nickname of "Kaláh Surkh" or "Red Hat," in allusion to the Kázilbash head-dress.

† According to Firishtah the Prince went off at once to A'aír (separating himself from Muháfiz Khán). The invitation of the nobles came later.

‡ Firishtah relates that Médiní Ráó was one of the first adherents who joined Mahmúd when expelled from Mandú, and that he distinguished himself in an action when Sáhib Khán was defeated and driven into the fort, before the siege. He is said to have raised a force of forty thousand Rájpúts on this occasion from various parts of India. The story of his struggles with the Muhamadan nobles, and with the King himself, are exceedingly curious, though they do not belong to the history of Gujarát and cannot be narrated here. A good account of them will be found in Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí," under the head of Málwah. Even by the showing of these Muhamadan writers, who continually revile him and his followers, he must have been a man of very remarkable and, in many respects, of a very noble and generous character. Firishtah attributes his treatment of Mahmúd personally to his belief that, so long as he kept the Sultán on his throne—if even only nominally a ruler—the other Muhamadan rulers would not care to interfere; but that if he made Málwah an avowedly Hindú kingdom, they would be bound in honour to restore the practice of their religion. But if this were so, he

whom he also surrendered the entire management of his affairs. This man equipped his relations and the men of his tribe, and having formed a large army of infidels, he fought with Muhamad and defeated him; Khwájah Jahán was killed in the battle. The whole power of Mandú fell into the hands of the wicked Ráó, and he even gave all the household affairs of the Sultán into the hands of his relations and friends. He killed the Musulmán nobles and attendants of the Sultán one by one as he found opportunity, and the infidels commenced to practise idolatry, tyranny, and violence, as is the way of these accursed wretches. The people of the city and the other towns were in much distress, and were prepared to emigrate and abandon their homes.

These things were reported to Sultán Muzaffar. He was told that after an interval of many years the supremacy of the infidels had been restored in Málwah, and that nothing was left to Sultán Mahmúd of all his kingdom but the mere name of royalty, and it seemed likely that this also would soon be put on one side. The Sultán writhed at the relation, and deemed it a duty incumbent upon him to put down the wretched infidels. He gave orders to his *amírs* to assemble his forces, and he himself went from Muhamadábád to Ahmadábád. He remained there a week, and paid a visit to the tombs of Shékh Ahmad Khattú, and of his sons, each of whom attained to the rank of a "Kutb" in his day, and from whose spirits his ancestors used to derive inspiration and grace.* He then returned to Muhamadábád.

In the month of Shawál A.H. 918 (A.D. 1512), he set out from Muhamadábád to overthrow the infidels, and to assist the faithful Muhamadans, who were suffering wrong and oppression at the hands of these vile miscreants. He marched with an overwhelming army towards Málwah, and halted for a few

would hardly have gone as far as he appears to have gone in depressing the Muhamadan party. Perhaps, however, this was forced on by events and by their intrigues.

* The passage is variously given, and is obscure.

days at the town of Gódhrah, to allow time for the gathering of the forces which had been summoned from all parts of his dominions.

While he was thus waiting, information came that 'Aín-ul-Mulk, Governor of Nahrwálah, otherwise Pattan, was coming to wait upon the Sultán. It appeared that the Rájah of I'dar, Bhím, the son of Bhán, had broken out in rebellion, and with a numerous force had thrown into confusion all the country up to the banks of the river Sábar. To put a stop to this, 'Aín-ul-Mulk marched against the Rájah's territories and ravaged them. When he was three *kós* from I'dar the Rájah came against him with a very large force, and a fierce action ensued. Both sides fought bravely. Abd-ul-Mulk, brother of 'Aín-ul-Mulk, and many renowned warriors were slain.* After these losses, 'Aín-ul-Mulk finding himself unable to contend against the overpowering forces of the enemy, who outnumbered him many-fold, accepted his defeat, and retired upon Pattan.

On hearing this the Sultán turned aside from his expedition against Málwah, and marched from Gódhrah towards I'dar. On reaching the town of Morásah he sent out his forces against the Rájah, with orders to plunder and lay waste the country. The Rájah fled to the hill country.† On the fourth day after his arrival there, the Sultán marched from Morásah and encamped in the outskirts of I'dar.‡ He then gave orders for the utter destruction of the houses and temples, so that not even a trace of them should be left. This happened in the year H. 919 (A.D. 1513). When the Rájah was informed of this destruction, he sought the intercession of Malik Kobí,§ a

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí" he lost forty men and an elephant, which last was cut to pieces.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" adds, "of Bíjanagar."

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," ten Rájpúts were found who had devoted themselves to death, and were slain accordingly.

§ Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" call him Malik Gopál, and make him an envoy of the Rái; but he was really a minister of Muzaffar, as described in the text. He will be found often mentioned in the sequel.

Brahman and a minister of the Sultán, who begged his forgiveness. The Sultán, being still determined on reckoning with the infidels of Málwah, forgave the Rájah, and retired, after receiving a suitable tribute.*

Sultán Muzaffar returned to Gódhrah, and having sent back Prince Sikandar Khán to Muhamadábád, continued his march to Málwah. On reaching the town of Dahód he ordered a fort to be built there. When he had passed through the pass of Déólah, which is very difficult, he rested three days. He appointed Safdar Khán to command the garrison of that place and to keep open the road. Here the son of the head man of Dhár, which belongs to Málwah, came to make submission and obtain protection. The Sultán sent Malik Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang to Dhár, to protect and reassure the inhabitants. It was now ascertained that Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí and Médiní Ráó had gone towards Chándérí.

After the defeat which Sultán Muhamad Khiljí suffered, as before related, he sought refuge with Sultán Sikandar Lódí, and with his help had got several districts of Chándérí into his possession.† Sultán Muzaffar thereupon observed that his object in this invasion was not to take away the country from Sultán Mahmúd, who was a Musulmán king, but solely to remove Médiní Ráó and the vile infidels who had collected round him, and to make peace between the two brothers. Since at that time Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí had another affair in hand, he, Sultán Muzaffar, would wait and see the result, and would then act as the occasion should require.‡

* The "Tárîkh-i-Alfí" gives this tribute as twenty *lakhs* of *tankahs* (equivalent to two thousand *tumáns*), one hundred horses and other presents. Firishtah corroborates this, and says the money was given to 'Aín-ul-Mulk to enable him to raise more men.

† The "Tárîkh-i-Alfí" says that Sikandar Lódí assisted him with 12,000 men.

‡ The history of these events properly belongs to the history of Málwah, for which see the "Tab. Akbarí," Málwah chapter, and Firishtah (Briggs), vol. iv. pp. 249–59. Médiní Ráó first made himself conspicuous by fidelity to Mahmúd, and the bravery which he showed with his followers in the battle-field. He undoubtedly gained practically supreme power in Mandú; and, naturally, to retain it, employed only his own race. He became hateful to

Orders were given for Kiwám-ul-Mulk to join the Sultán from Dhár. Next day he arrived, and he gave such a glowing description of the buildings of the deer-park, which had been formed there under the orders of Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín, that the Sultán's curiosity was excited. He left his camp, and taking with him twelve thousand light horse and one hundred and fifty elephants, he went to gaze upon this splendid building. He encamped on the bank of the tank of Dhár, and some of the nobles observed that it would be a good thing if the Sultán would also pay a visit to Mandú. The Sultán replied that there was no pleasure in seeing a house without its master. At the hour of afternoon prayer he paid a visit to the shrines of Shékh Kamál and Shékh 'Abdulláh Jangál,* who both rest in the vicinity of Dhár. The people of the town all came out to see the Sultán, and welcomed and blessed him.

In the morning the Sultán directed Nizám-ul-Mulk Sultání, Rezí-ul-Mulk, Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk, Malik Chimman (whose title was Muháfiz-ul-Mulk), and Sáif Khán, to visit the buildings at Diláwarah and the deer-park there, and to return the same day and report what sort of place it was. In the meantime the Sultán amused himself by visiting the deer-park of Dhár. When evening came the *amírs* had not returned, so the Sultán said, "It will be well for us all to go to Diláwarah." When he arrived he did not find the *amírs* there, and Alaf Khán said to him that perhaps Nizám-ul-Mulk had gone to the village of Na'lchah, to see his brother named Rái Singh who dwelt there. The Sultán visited various places at Diláwarah, and returned to Dhár. At nightfall it was reported that Nizám-ul-Mulk had gained a victory and was returning. The Sultán inquired

the Muhamadan party, and is roundly abused in all their historical works; but even their descriptions give a very favourable account of his loyalty, bravery, and chivalrous courtesy.

* The name may be "Changál." The "Tab. Akbarí" has a curious story that Shékh Abdullah and his father were originally *wazírs* of Rájah Bhój, and that the former was converted to Islám.

where he had gained it, and it then appeared that when Nizám-ul-Mulk was returning from Na'lchah, the infidels in the fort of Mandú came out and pursued him. Nizám-ul-Mulk faced about, and fought. Forty of the infidels were killed, and the rest fled back to Mandú. Nizám-ul-Mulk returned victorious, but the Sultán was angry, and spoke harshly to him for going to Na'lchah without orders and risking a disaster to the force.

On the third day the Sultán returned from Dhár to his army, and then returned to the capital. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" says that he was in attendance upon the Sultán in this campaign, and saw the occurrences which he has recorded.*

In the year H. 920 (A.D. 1514) the Sultán arrived at Muhamadábád, and it was reported to him that, after the death of Ráo Bhím, Rájah of I'dar, his nephew Rái Mal,† with the support of Ráná Sánká, Rájah of Chítór, had ousted Bihár Mal, the son of Ráó Bhím, and had taken possession of the country. The Sultán was displeased, and said that Bhím had taken possession of I'dar with his sanction, and that the Ráná

* Muzaffar Sháh's action is not very clearly accounted for. He was not very well inclined to Sáhib Khán, and probably thought that, under cover of supporting him, Sikandar Lódí was really endeavouring to get Málwah for himself; nor was this an unlikely suspicion, for an attempt to assert his supremacy was actually made by some of the officers of Sikandar Lódí; a proceeding which caused a breach between the Dehlí Sultán and Sáhib Khán's party, and this ended in the retreat of the former to Dehlí. Nevertheless, this had already happened just before Sultán Muzaffar's retreat to his own country. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Mahmúd Khiljí was in despair when he heard of Nizám-ul-Mulk's action; for though the Dehlí Sultán had retreated, he had still forces starting up on every side, and Sáhib Khán, with (the Málwah) Muháfiz Khán (who appears to have rejoined him), was marching on Mandú, and the "Tab. Akbarí" adds that Mahmúd addressed a letter to Muzaffar Sháh remonstrating with him for taking advantage of his distresses to attack him. Possibly Muzaffar's real intention was, as he avowed, to restore Mahmúd, to his rightful position; but, finding he was more of a free agent than he imagined, and not caring to interfere on Sáhib Khán's behalf, he determined to withdraw. In the end Sáhib Khán was defeated by Mahmúd, and eventually came to terms with the latter, and retired, with a *jágír*, into private life.

† According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," he was sister's son to Bhím Rái. The "Tab. Akbarí" calls him "son of Súraj Mal, and son-in-law of the Ráná."

had no right to help Rái Mal to dispossess him. He issued stringent orders to Nizám-ul-Mulk *jágírdár* of Ahmadnagar, to drive Rái Mal out of I'dar and re-establish Bihár Mal, the son of Bhím.* After this the Sultán himself went to Ahmadnagar, and eventually returned and took up his abode at Ahmadábád.

In A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517)† Rái Mal fought with the royal armies, and was sometimes defeated, sometimes successful. While the Sultán was passing the rainy season at Ahmadábád in ease and pleasure, several *amírs* of Málwah, such as Habíb Khán,‡ Shékh Jábulandah, and others, through fear of Médiní Ráó, fled and came to the Sultán. He inquired into the condition of the people of Mandú, and they told him that the rules and practice of Islám had been quite set aside, and that Médiní Ráó, in his hatred of that religion, had put several good and noted men and others to death; while some, who had got notice of his designs against them, had gone into exile and were wandering in foreign countries. Before long, they said, the infidels would kill Sultán Mahmúd, or blind him and put him in prison. This information greatly distressed the Sultán, and he swore that, by God's help, after the rains he would march to Mandú to destroy Médiní Ráó and the vile infidels

* According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" this was done, and Bihár Mal re-instated. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Nizám-ul-Mulk afterwards went in pursuit of Rái Mal into the Bíjanagar hills, and fought a severe but indecisive action with him. The Sultán directed him to return and rebuked him for exceeding his orders and unnecessarily weakening his force. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and "Tab. Akbarí" give A.H. 921 as the date of Bihár Mal's re-instatement.

† The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" gives the better reading of "From 921 to 923." The "Tab. Akbarí" gives an account of one of these fights. Nizám-ul-Mulk was recalled on account of remissness—apparently in the earlier part of 923—and Nasrat-ul-Mulk was appointed temporarily to replace him. Taking advantage of this change, Rái Mal attacked I'dar itself. Zahír-ul-Mulk, who was in charge of I'dar with a hundred horse, was unsupported, for Nizám-ul-Mulk had started for Muhamadábád, and Nasrat-ul-Mulk had not got beyond Ahmadnagar. He gave battle, nevertheless, and was killed, with twenty-seven of his men. The Sultán then desired Nasrat-ul-Mulk to attack Bíjanagar, which had been an asylum for the turbulent and rebellious.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" calls Habíb Khán Governor of Ashtah or Ashtanagar. Briggs says he was Kází of Chótí Mahéswar. He mentions also Shékh Hamíd of Bhílsah, vol. iv. p. 84.

of those parts, to deliver the oppressed and injured, and to re-establish the rule and practice of Islám.*

Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí saw that all the country and power of Málwah, with the treasure and the army, were in the hands of Médiní Ráó, and that nothing was left to him but the mere name of Sultán, and that even this was scarcely of any account; he formed the design of escaping from Mandú. With this object he went out on pretence of hunting for several days. One day he galloped about from morn to evening, till the Hindús who had been placed in guard over him and who were worn out, went to sleep. No one was allowed near him but the servants of Médiní Ráó. If he wanted water or food a Hindú served him; grooms, porters, all about him were Hindús. Among them was a Rájpút, named Kishná, an inhabitant of the town of Gharhalí. He was a *zamíndár* of Málwah, and, compared with the other Rájpúts, he was very respectful in his duty. The Sultán said to him, "Kishná, I am very miserable; can you get two horses from the royal stables and conduct me to Gujarát, so that I may go to Sultán Muzaffar and obtain assistance to give this evil-doer his deserts? If you will render me this service, then, please God, I will reward you richly." Kishná consented, and said that he and his sons were devoted to the Sultán and had been watching for an opportunity of this nature; they had not presumed to suggest such a thing before, but now they would do all in their power, and provide two strong and swift horses at the spot appointed. The Sultán continued hunting for the remainder of the day, and then returned to the female apartments. All the guards of Médiní Ráó were so thoroughly tired that they dispersed to their homes and took their rest. When one watch

* Further internal struggles had taken place in Málwah which had undoubtedly resulted in giving over the entire power of the country into the hands of the Hindú party, and in reducing Mahmúd himself to a simple puppet. The history of these struggles and intrigues is interesting in a high degree, and the relation is not altogether to the disadvantage of Médiní Ráó. Their history may be found in Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí," under the head of Málwah.

of the night had passed, the Sultán left the fort by a secret passage. Kishná brought two horses from the stables of the Sultán, who mounted one of them and placed upon the other his favourite wife Rání Kanákrá.* Kishná went before them and guided them on the road to Gujarát. They travelled the remainder of the night and all the next day till they reached the village of Bhakórah on the frontier of Gujarát. As their horses were very tired, they alighted and sat down under a tree near the village. Next day the fact was reported to Kaisar Khán, the Governor of the town of Dahód, which is ten *kós* distant from Bhakórah. Kaisar Khán at once waited on the Sultán, showed him every attention and royal honour, and remained in attendance to supply all his wants. He instantly sent off a camel express to Sultán Muzaffar. On hearing this news Sultán Muzaffar was greatly delighted, and sent off horses with embroidered saddles and bridles, and elephants with velvet trappings; he also sent male and female attendants, and despatched them in charge of several of his chief nobles, and wrote a letter of welcome, assuring him of his delight at receiving him, and saying that he hoped soon to give him active support and to restore the fort of Mandú to him. When the cavalcade approached, Sultán Mahmúd came out to welcome it; all the nobles alighted from their horses and paid him homage; at the same moment the camp, which, with the baggage, had been sent for Sultán Mahmúd, was pitched, and, the nobles withdrawing, the Sultán took possession of it.

The spies of Médiní Ráó saw and reported to him this reception, which struck the infidel with terror. The day after, Sultán Muzaffar sent off the *amírs*, and he himself marched with the resolve of punishing the traitors at Mandú. He reached Gódhrah, twelve *kós* from Muhamadábád, and halted. There he received intelligence of the death of Sikandar Lódí, Sultán of Dehlí, and of the accession at A'grah of his son

* Rání Kanákrá—*Kanákrá* means "golden."

Ibráhím. This happened in the year H. 923 (A.D. 1517). Sultán Muzaffar assembled the learned and religious men, and recited a *fátihah* for the soul of Sultán Ibráhím.

Muzaffar marched on to the village of Déolah. In the hunting-ground there he met Sultán Mahmúd, and accorded to him a right royal reception to comfort him; for Sultán Mahmúd was depressed and unwell from the sad state of his affairs and the fatigue of his journey.*

When Médiní Ráó heard of the Sultán's arrival at Deólah on the borders of Málwah, he sent Shádí Khán, Pithórá,† Bhím Karanah Badan, Khákhú, and U'gar Sen, to hold the fort of Mandú, while he marched against Dhár. Alarmed at the strength of his adversary, he retreated to U'jain without fighting, and Sultán Muzaffar advanced to Mandú and invested the place. The trenches were allotted to different *amírs*, and every day the infidels sallied out and fought.‡ Things went on in this way for some days, and the garrison was in difficulties, when Médiní Ráó conveyed a message to the besieged,§ directing them to open communications with Sultán Muzaffar, and, proposing peace and amity, to get an armistice for one month, upon a promise to surrender the fort at the end of that time and to become subjects of the Sultán; assuring them that in the meantime he, Médiní Ráó, would obtain such strong reinforcements from the Ráná as would cause Sultán Muzaffar to withdraw without fighting,

* According to the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" the Sultán started on the 4th Zí-l-Ka'dah, reached Deólah on the 15th of the same month, and arrived before Mandú on the 23rd.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah both say that the command was confided to Ráí Pithórá, who seems to have been a son of Médiní Ráo. The fragment of the "Tárikh-i-Muzaffar Sháhí" in the British Museum seems to confirm this. The lithographed copy also has this name, but not the others. It is hoped to give extracts from this latter work in Vol. II. Briggs calls him Bhén Ráí, and son to Médiní Ráo, vol. iv. p. 82. The Hyderábád MS. also gives the name of Ráí Pithórá.

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí" Kiwám-ul-Mulk particularly distinguished himself in repulsing one of these sallies and inflicting heavy loss on the enemy.

§ The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah say these messages were sent to his son, who conducted the negotiations.

and retreat to Gujarát, never to enter upon so vain an enterprise again.

In accordance with these directions the infidels craftily opened communications, and sent out messengers with suitable offerings to Khudáwand Khán, the *wazír*, and he took them to the presence of the Sultán. The messengers, after paying due respect, said that the garrison humbly solicited an armistice for a month, to arrange for their families, and that they would evacuate the fort at the termination of the time. When the Sultán suggested that there might be some artifice or trickery in this proposal, the messengers protested on oath, and he granted a truce for a month.* The infidels at first apparently set about making preparations for the surrender, but they wrote secretly to Médiní Ráó that they had done as he desired, and that he should now fulfil his written promise, and should do everything in his power to save them from the consequences of their deceitful procrastination.

Médiní Ráó went to the Ráná, and represented that in Hindústán, among the Hindús, there was no man greater than he, and that if he did not assist his own race, who else was to do so? He presented to the Ráná some celebrated elephants and valuable jewels which had belonged to Sultán Mahmúd, and which he had brought with him to give the Ráná if he agreed to assist. The Ráná consented to accept the elephants and jewels and to advance as far as Sárangpúr, but said that afterwards he would act as circumstances should require. The Ráná accordingly marched with a large army to Sárangpúr, which is a city of Málwah, about fifty *kós* from Mandú.

When this fact became known to Sultán Muzaffar he per-

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that the Sultán rather doubted the sincerity of the offer, and was quite aware that the garrison expected assistance. Nevertheless, as the family of Sultán Mahmúd was within the fort, he thought himself bound to treat. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" adds that both he and Mahmúd were induced to treat, to avoid the heavy loss of life which would occur in the capture of so strong a fort. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that one condition of the truce was that the Sultán should fall back one march; and both that work and Firishtah say the Sultán actually retired for six *kós* (say twelve miles).

ceived the deceit and trickery of the garrison of the fort. He detached 'A'dil Khán A'sírí and Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang with a veteran force against the Ráná, and directed his own forces to renew the siege and press it with increased ardour. They exerted themselves so strenuously that next day the fort was taken, and many infidels were slain;* it is said that nineteen thousand infidels were counted lying dead. This happened in the year H. 924 (A.D. 1518), and the date is found in this hemistich, *Kad fath al Mandú Sultán-ná.*

Sáíd Jalál Bukhárí and Malik Mahmúd used to say that the infidels seemed all to have become at once invisible, and the Malik, who was in the fight, used himself to tell the following story: "After the defeat of the infidels, when the gates were thrown open, I went up to the fort and wandered about among several houses; and whenever I found an infidel enemy I hastened to kill him. I found one house, the door of which was fastened inside. I thought there might be some infidels inside, so I broke it open. It was empty; but there was an underground room. I thought the infidels might be in that, so I rushed in shouting 'Alláh, Alláh!' when I perceived that there were between forty and fifty infidels lying dead, some of them with their heads cut off. One was still alive, however, and I asked him how this came about. He said, 'I hid myself in this underground room in fear of my life, when suddenly a party of men with drawn swords came in and

* According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," the storm continued for four days, the fighting being hand-to-hand, and with enormous losses on both sides. On the night of the fifth day, while the garrison were mostly asleep, the walls were successfully escaladed, and, a gate being thrown open, the place was carried by surprise. The Rájpúts performed the *jóhar*. The "Tab. Akbarí" confirms this story, and Firishtah's account varies only a little. Most authorities give the number of Hindús slain as nineteen thousand, but the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says: "Some call it forty thousand; perhaps, if women and children are included, it *may* have approached the latter number." The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" gives the date of the capture as the 2nd of Safar; but later on Sultán Muzaffar is represented as visiting Sultán Mahmúd on the 11th of Safar, three days after the capture. This would make the date the 8th of Safar. The latter date would give the duration of the siege (if it began on the 23rd Zí-l-Ka'dah) as exactly seventy-five days, of which the last five were occupied in the storm, and the previous twenty by the truce.

killed us all, cutting off our heads.' A little later he also surrendered his soul to Hell." *

When the Sultán entered the fortress some of his friends congratulated him on having conquered Málwah, a country greater in extent than Gujarát; but as it had been won by his skill and valour, and nearly two thousand † Muhamadans had fallen in the siege, they asked what sense there could be in handing it over to Sultán Mahmúd. The Sultán, on hearing these remarks, at once left the fortress, and said to Mahmúd, "Take care that none of my men get into the fort." Mahmúd expressed his obligation and devotion to the Sultán, and requested him to make a stay there as a guest. Sultán Muzaffar replied that he would pay him a visit three days later,‡ but did not think it advisable to remain longer at that time; and though Sultán Mahmúd pressed him, he still refused. Some time after, the associates of the Sultán asked him why he left the fortress so hastily, and he said he had done so because his men tempted him to retain the seat of the sovereignty belonging to Mahmúd; but he had entered on the war entirely as a duty to God, and he feared that if he remained there temptation might shake his good resolution; and the weight of obligation was not on Sultán Mahmúd in this matter, but that Sultán Mahmúd had conferred an obligation upon *him*, saying, "Through him I have had the opportunity of gaining this happiness and of seeing the desire of mine eyes."

When Sultán Kutb-ud-dín defeated Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí at Kapparbanj, there was a desperate battle and untold slaughter. In the confusion, which was like that of the Day of Resurrection, the horse of Sultán Kutb-ud-dín's treasurer,

* There is another story, which is uninteresting and of no historical value, and is omitted here. Not all the MSS. give these anecdotes.

† One MS. reads "ten thousand."

‡ According to Firishtah, Muzaffar at once marched towards Ujjain, near to which place Ráná Sánká had arrived; but at Dhár was met by tidings from 'A'dil Khán A'sírí, who had been watching the Ráná, that, on hearing of the fall of Mandú, he had promptly retired. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives the same story. The "Tab. Akbarí" also says he marched the day after the capture.

who was carrying the Sultán's jewelled sword-belt, galloped into the enemy's ranks. The treasurer fell off his horse and fell into the hands of the enemy, and they took the jewelled belt from him and gave it to Sultán Mahmúd. It remained in the treasury of the Málwah Sultáns. When the fort was stormed, the throne and a pair of armlets came into Sultán Muzaffar's possession. Sultán Mahmúd now sent the belt by his son—who had been a captive in the hands of the infidels, but was released on the storming of the fort—with a suitable sword and horse, and an invitation to a banquet, to Sultán Muzaffar. He accepted it, and dismissed the boy with much kindness and favour, and with many presents.*

Sultán Mahmúd desired the people of the city to adorn it with mirrors, to whitewash their houses, and to lay down carpets in the streets, and exerted himself to the utmost to arrange all the preparations. On the eleventh of Safar, according to his promise to come on the third day, Sultán Muzaffar visited the fort, and all the people of the city, in enormous bands, great and small, male and female, came out to see him, standing on the walls and on the house-tops, and expressed their thanks and blessings. Sultán Mahmúd entertained him most sumptuously. After the banquet he conducted him round the palace. Unexpectedly they entered a building in which there was a quadrangle, painted and gilded, with rooms all round. As soon as they were in the middle the doors of all the rooms opened, and the women of Sultán Mahmúd appeared at them, beautifully dressed and adorned, and looking like *húrís* and *parís*. It is said that Sultán Mahmúd had two thousand beautiful women in his house. The Sultáns of Mandú were all very luxurious to an incredible extent, more especially Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín; so much so that, if a person indulges in excessive luxury, it is to this day said

* This story is not in any MS., but only in the lithographed edition. The throne and armlets meant were apparently part of the Gujarát regalia taken when Kutb-ud-dín's treasury was plundered, during the battle of Kapparbanj.

of him, "He is as luxurious as Ghiás-ud-dín," which is equivalent to saying that if he does not turn to better ways he will be brought to sorrow. No one was ever allowed to intrude upon the Sultán. Twice only in all his reign were tidings of sorrow brought to him. Once, when his son-in-law died, none of his *wazírs* or nobles dare tell him the news, nor of the women within the palace was one found willing to tell him. At last they were obliged to make his daughter meet him with her head dressed in white. When the Sultán saw her, he said, "Oh, I suppose her husband must be dead, as she is in white clothes." The other instance was when Sultán Bahlól Lódí plundered some of the *parganahs* of Chandérí, and it was necessary to tell the Sultán. None of his *wazírs* dared boldly to tell him, but they made him aware of it by means of a band of Hindús, who dressed up themselves as Afgháns, and, mimicking the operation of plundering, mentioned the names of the *parganahs*. When he understood, he said, "What! is the Governor of Chandérí a corpse, that he does not revenge himself on some of Bahlól's *parganahs*?" Sultán Mahmúd's women brought plates full of gems and golden ornaments like the peacocks of Heaven, for Sultán Muzaffar. Sultán Muzaffar, when he saw them, said, "To look on what is unlawful is a crime." Sultán Mahmúd said that they and all he had were at Sultán Muzaffar's disposal. The latter thanked him, but begged that they might return within the *pardah*; and at a signal they all instantly disappeared like fairies. When they came out of the palace Sultán Muzaffar took leave and retired to his own house.*

It is said that when Sultán Mahmúd fled for refuge to Sultán Muzaffar, as above related, Médiní Ráó made no difference whatever in the expenses of Mahmúd's harem—provisions and clothes, perfumes and money, were supplied as before without any alteration. Once a day he (Médiní Ráó) used to

* This story as to Ghiás-ud-dín occurs only in the Hyderábád MS. and the lithographed edition.

go into the *darbár*, and vow and protest that he had done nothing disloyal to Sultán Mahmúd, or which ought to offend him and drive him from his country; and he would say, "Write and ask him to take care of his country and appoint another *wazír*, for I am willing to be his slipper-bearer." Affairs were managed just as before; and as regards the harem, the eunuchs attended to it just as in the days of Sultán Mahmúd.

On the day of the taking of the fort, Shádí Khán and Pithórá Ráó Khákhú, two of the chief men, were killed.* Bhím Karan and Badan escaped by a window, and fled to Médiní Ráó. It is said that Badan was so horrified at the slaughter of the people in the fort that, after speaking a few words to Médiní Ráó, he asked for a cup of water, and died as soon as he had drunk it.† The sight of this alarmed Médiní Ráó and the Ráná, and the former said, "All my relations and tribesmen are dead,‡ and our wives and children are captives in the hands of the Muhamadans, so what is there to live for?" He would have killed himself, but the Ráná prevented him, and took him away with him,§ and went off to Chítór. It is said he marched thirty-seven *kós* in one night, on his retreat, without halting.

* The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says: "The 'Mirát-i-Sikandarí' and 'Tárikh-i-Muzaffar-Sháhí' give the names of seven chiefs of note who fell in the fort."

† Firishtah explains this by saying that the man was so agitated and excited while telling the story, that he burst the bandages of his wounds, which being very serious, he bled to death before the hæmorrhage could be stopped. The man's name is variously given as Madan or Badan.

‡ Including his son Pithórá.

§ It was apparently the intelligence thus received that decided the Ráná to retreat as before described. It may be as well to note here the ultimate fate of Médiní Ráó. Ráná Sánká made over to him the provinces of Chandérí, Gágrún, &c., and he himself made the strong fort of Chandérí his residence. He fought under Ráná Sánká, at the battle of Kánwah, against the Emperor Bábar. He was afterwards besieged in Chandérí by the Emperor, who offered him terms, and to give him Shamsábád, in the Doáb, in exchange for Chandérí; but Médiní Ráó made a stubborn and nearly successful defence. Bábar was nearly compelled to raise the siege, but an assault at the last moment succeeded. The Rájpúts, overpowered, performed the *jóhar*, and then Médiní Ráó and the others fell by each other's swords and died. (Erskine's "India," vol. i. pp. 479–84; Briggs' "Firishtah," vol. ii. pp. 59, 60.)

'A'dil Khán, who was at Dípálpúr, fifteen *kós* from Mandú, heard of the Ráná's flight, and wrote to Sultán Muzaffar asking permission to pursue him; but the Sultán did not consider it expedient, and recalling 'A'dil Khán, set off for his capital.* Sultán Mahmúd accompanied him to Déólah, and there took leave of him. A'saf Khán and several *amírs* were left by Sultán Muzaffar to support Sultán Mahmúd. The Sultán desired them not to receive the smallest coin from Sultán Mahmúd, on pain of his heavy displeasure. 'A'dil Khán A'sírí also took leave here, and went to A'sír and Burhánpúr. After a few days' hunting in this neighbourhood, the Sultán marched in triumph to I'dar; † thence he went to Muhamadábád, and passed the hot season and rains there in ease and pleasure, giving his army rest from the fatigues of the campaign.

In the year H. 925, Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí marched to *sarkár* Gágrún, where he attacked Bhím Karan, who has been already mentioned,‡ and who was in possession of the place, and, having made him prisoner, put him to death. In consequence of this, the Ráná led out a powerful army against Sultán Mahmúd, and a great battle was fought. The infidels were several fold more numerous than the Musulmáns, but, notwithstanding their inferiority of numbers, the soldiers of Islám fought valiantly till they were overwhelmed, and great numbers became martyrs. Sultán Mahmúd bore himself bravely, and made repeated charges, but he received several wounds, and his

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" states that the very day the fort of Mandú fell, Muzaffar Sháh moved out against the Ráná. It was after his return, apparently, that the feasts given by Mahmúd took place.

† The reason of this "hunting expedition" is explained by the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Firishtah, and the "Tab. Akbarí." It seems that during the Sultán's absence at Mandú, Rái Mal, who had been expelled from I'dar, came down from the hills and sacked a portion of the Pattan district, including the town of Gílwárah(?). Nasrat-ul-Mulk had met and repulsed him, but the Sultán went to I'dar to make inquiries, and to arrange for an expedition into the hills in the following year, for the punishment of Rái Mal and the Rájah of Bíjanagar, who sheltered him.

‡ See above, p. 256. Bhím Karan is said to have been a deputy of Médiní Ráó, and was holding Gágrún(?) for him. He was certainly one of his chief officers, and very probably a relative.

horse also was wounded and disabled, so that Mahmúd became a prisoner in the hands of the Ráná.

This defeat greatly disturbed Sultán Muzaffar, and he sent a force to protect the fort of Mandú. On hearing this the Ráná returned to the fortress of Chítór, which was his usual abode. When Sultán Mahmúd fell wounded on the field, some soldiers informed the Ráná, who came and raised him up respectfully, and carried him in his own *pálkí* to Chítór. Through fear of the Muhamadan Sultáns* whose dominions bordered on Mandú, such as Ibráhím Lódí Pádsháh of Dehlí, Sultán Muzaffar of Gujarát, and others, the Ráná treated Sultán Mahmúd with all possible tenderness. When his wounds were healed, the Ráná escorted Mahmúd with all honour for some marches, and then bidding farewell, sent him away back to Mandú.

In this year Sultan Muzaffar went from Muhamadábád to I'dar,† and hunted there for some time. He dismissed Nasrat-ul-Mulk, who was in charge of I'dar, and appointed in his place Malik Husain Bahmaní, entitled Nizám-ul-Mulk, a man renowned for bravery. The Sultán then went to Ahmadábád.

The *wazírs* were very much displeased at this affair (viz. the appointment of Nizám-ul-Mulk, apparently because he was a foreigner, and not one of themselves), and made known their dissatisfaction to the Sultán, who said in reply, "I have now found a man who can teach you all. It is no use to object." The *wazírs* therefore set themselves to watch for an opportunity of ruining Nizám-ul-Mulk.

In the year H. 926 (A.D. 1520), a certain wandering minstrel observed in public, before Nizám-ul-Mulk, that there was no

* This remark is hardly generous. The Ráná's conduct could hardly have been more magnanimous than it was throughout; while Mahmúd had little beyond personal courage to recommend him. The Gujarátí contingent commanded by A'saf Khán was present, and suffered severely in this battle. A'saf Khán's son was amongst the slain.

† This was the expedition planned the previous year. From the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" and Firishtah it does not appear that much was accomplished. Rái Mal sought refuge in Bíjanagar, and the Sultán's troops got a good deal of plunder. The Sultán seems to have been dissatisfied with Nasrat-ul-Mulk, and to have superseded him by Nizám-ul-Mulk, afterwards entitled Mubáriz-ul-Mulk.

rájah equal to the Ráná in all Hindustán, saying: "He protects Rái Mal, the Rájah of I'dar, and you may stay a little time in I'dar, it will eventually come back again into the hands of Rái Mal." Nizám-ul-Mulk said, "What sort of a dog is the Ráná, and how can he protect Rái Mal? Here I sit, why does he not come?" The man replied that he was coming soon, and Nizám-ul-Mulk said that if he did not come he would be no better than a dog; moreover, he called for a dog, and having had it tied up at the door of the *darbár*, he said, "If the Ráná does not come, he will be like this dog." *

The bard went off and repeated this story to the Ráná, who writhed like a snake, and, throwing off his upper garments, at once marched to the town of Siróhí. The Sultán, when he heard of this, was desirous of sending reinforcements; but some of his courtiers,† who disliked Nizám-ul-Mulk, said, "What power has the Ráná to contend against your officers?"‡ Messengers also just then brought intelligence that the Ráná had returned to Chítór. This news was, indeed, at the time, in accordance with fact. The Sultán then appointed Kiwám-ul-Mulk to hold Ahmadábád, and he himself went to Muhamadábád.

The Ráná then turned again and came to Bágar, which lies to the east of I'dar. Nizám-ul-Mulk reported the fact to the Sultán, and stated that the Ráná was at Bágar with forty thousand horse, and was threatening I'dar, and that the nominal garrison of I'dar amounted in all to five thousand horse, but that the majority of the men had gone to Ahmadábád. The ministers did not deliver this despatch to the Sultán, but maliciously kept it back. After a while they considered that the fact could not be hidden from the King, and they informed

* All the authorities give this anecdote, and it is probably true.

† From the sequel it will be seen that the leaders of this intrigue were Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang, and Malik Kótí. The expressions used by some authorities almost imply that they encouraged the Ráná to make this attack.

‡ According to some versions, "to set his foot in your country."

him of the circumstances. When he asked their advice they perfidiously represented that "Nizám-ul-Mulk was continually sending alarming news. When the Ráná went to Siróhí before, he wrote to say that he had designs upon I'dar. The Ráná has now come to Bágar to receive tribute, and we are written to about I'dar. We have our spies there, and these will write the actual facts." * Thus the misconduct of these ministers,† whose aim was to ruin Nizám-ul-Mulk, caused great injury to their sovereign, and led to the life-blood of many Musulmáns being shed.

Through their misrepresentations there was delay in sending reinforcements, and the Ráná, acting energetically, came down swiftly upon I'dar in great force. Nizám-ul-Mulk, who in the interim had been entitled Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, greatly desired to fight, but his friends and associates restrained him, saying that it was quite out of the question to oppose the Ráná, who had forty thousand horse, with their small force, not numbering more than nine hundred horsemen; to take such a step was to give themselves over knowingly and wilfully to death, was like walking into a pit in broad daylight and with open eyes. The Sultán's best interests would be greatly prejudiced by such an attempt, and it could only bring the State into disrepute. However strongly they argued, still Mubáriz-ul-Mulk always came back to his original proposal. At length, after much discussion, they resolved on going to Ahmadnagar, to hold the fortress until the Sultán could arrive to their assistance, and then to offer battle in the open.

In the end they started for Ahmadnagar, taking Mubáriz-ul-Mulk with them. One hundred men, however, of the Sultán's Silahdárí horse‡ agreed with one another to devote themselves to death, and to remain in I'dar, but so that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk

* The "Tárikh-i-Alfí" says that the Rájpúts of Dúngarpúr and Bánsbálah all crowded to the Ráná's standard, till he had an army of forty thousand horse and foot, and one hundred and fifty elephants.

† See note † on p. 265.

‡ *Silahdárí*. These were irregular cavalry, finding their own horses and arms.

should know nothing of the matter. When the Ráná arrived at I'dar they sallied out, and were all slain. Their leader was Malik Bakhan O'nthariah; and the cause of this act was that some of the *wazírs* had said to Malik Bakhan, "You must do something to put Nizám-ul-Mulk to shame." They say also that another minstrel had, in order to flatter Nizám-ul-Mulk, recited a verse in Hindí to the effect that the Ráná's forces were like cranes, while the troops of Nizám-ul-Mulk would swoop down on them like falcons. When the Ráná entered I'dar he said to this minstrel, "Where are those royal falcons of which you spoke?" Just then these brave men charged out and attacked the advanced troops of the Ráná, and put them to flight; and the minstrel retorted, "There, they have come, those royal falcons of which I spoke!"

On the way to Ahmadnagar they fell in with Khizr Khán Asad-ul-Mulk, Ghází Khán Shujá'-ul-Mulk, and Sáif Khán, who were on their way to I'dar to reinforce them. These chiefs said to Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, "You ought to have remained in I'dar. We, too, were on our way thither, that we all might join and fight the Ráná. The Ráná will now presently come to Ahmadnagar, and we will never consent to show fear of the infidel, and shut ourselves up behind walls. We will fight in the open,* though it would have been better for us to do so in I'dar." Mubáriz-ul-Mulk replied, "My friends here thought it advisable to fall back on Ahmadnagar, though I was very unwilling to do so. Yours is the best possible advice; I quite agree in what you say." As this interview took place close by Ahmadnagar, they went on thither together. Early next morning they all assembled, and drew up in battle array outside the city. The total muster-roll of the Muhamadan force

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that the reason why Mubáriz-ul-Mulk decided to give battle in the open, was because he was taunted by the bard whom he had, as above stated, insulted in *darbár*. This man said to him that he advised him to shut himself up in the fort, and then the Ráná, having watered his horse in the river which runs beneath the fort, would probably be content, and return home. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk said that he never would permit the Ráná to do this. Firishtah notices this story also.

was twelve hundred horse and one thousand infantry musketeers.

The day had not passed when the Ráná's forces came in view on every side. Out of the thousand and two hundred, made up of the force of Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and the followers of the nobles, four hundred horse devoted themselves to death, and advancing in front upon the enemy, and shouting, "Alláh, Alláh!" charged the enemy's advanced guard, and routed them, driving them back at the point of the sword upon their centre. The centre, also, they threw into confusion, and drove twenty thousand horse before them for the space of one *kós*, cutting them down all the time, until at last the party disappeared from the sight of the rest of their own force, which was on their rear, and who believed that all were killed. Not one of them turned his back on the enemy, or sought to make his way back to Ahmadnagar. However, as has been said, these death-seeking warriors broke the enemy's vanguard and centre also; but in doing this, Ghází Khán, Irádat Khán, and Sultán Sháh, who were the leaders of these valiant men, were wounded, and many of their followers were slain. Many were left wounded on the field, and very few escaped unhurt.

Mubáriz-ul-Mulk's friends,* considering that if a man runs his head against a rock he may break his head, but will hardly break the rock, laid hold of his reins and, without consulting his wishes, carried him off the field towards the fort of Ahmadnagar, quite believing that the garrison was still occupying that post; but on arriving at the fort gate they perceived that before their arrival the garrison had already evacuated the fort, and had retreated. Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and Safdar Khán made for the town of Barni, which is ten *kós* from Ahmadnagar on the Ahmadábád road, but, quitting the direct road, chose another. Asad-ul-Mulk and others went by the direct

* Firishtah says Mubáriz-ul-Mulk was wounded severely. The text of all the MSS. is more or less corrupt in this place; but the present version has been made after a comparison of all, and is probably a pretty correct approximation to the original text of the history.

road. The infidels, pursuing, overtook Asad-ul-Mulk, who faced about and gave battle, but was slain with all his following, and his elephant, with all its equipage, fell into the enemy's hands.

The Ráná took the town of Ahmadnagar, sacked it, and carried away captive all the inhabitants. At night-fall he summoned his chief officers, and consulted with them. Some observed that Ahmadábád was only thirty *kós* distant, and it would be well to make a rapid march thither and plunder the place. But the Ráná said, "Four hundred Musulmán horsemen have defeated twenty thousand, and have killed a thousand good soldiers. If they assemble four thousand men and give battle, you will not be equal to meeting them. None of my ancestors have ever reached such a pitch of heroism or done such a deed; for the present we must be content.

The *grássiahs* of Gujarát, who had joined the Ráná, said: "If you will not attack Ahmadábád, let us plunder the town of Barnagar, which is close by, and then let us return, for the inhabitants of that place are merchants who are very rich, and our men will get a great deal of plunder." Accordingly the Ráná marched to Barnagar; but the inhabitants of the place were all Bráhmans, who met together, and came before the Ráná and said: "For twenty-two generations we have dwelt in this town, and no one has ever attempted any violence or oppression upon us. You are the King of India* and of the Hindús; why should we suffer wrong at your hands?" The Ráná, therefore, would not permit the plunder of Barnagar, but, having accepted tribute, he came away and encamped in the vicinity of Bisalnagar. The local officer of that place shut himself up in the fort,† and the Ráná's men attacked the fort and beleaguered it till the hour of evening prayer. In

* Some MSS. read, "King of Hind wa Ahind," but the reading of the text seems preferable.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," this officer, so far from shutting himself up in the fort, "came out to seek martyrdom, and obtained it, as did several of his followers."

the fighting and consequent confusion the town of Bisalnagar was plundered.

At night a panic fell upon the Ráná's camp, for it was said that Malik 'A'in-ul-Mulk and Fateh Khán, *jágírdárs* of the *súbah* of Pattan, were approaching. The army remained under arms all night, and in the morning the Ráná turned his face back to I'dar, and from thence went to his own country.

On the very day of the battle, Kiwám-ul-Mulk, governor of Ahmadábád, had marched out to support Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, and went as far as the village of Malád,* seven *kós* from Ahmadábád. Some fugitives from the defeated army came there and reported that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, Safdar Khán, and Ghází Khán were killed. Kiwám-ul-Mulk halted at Malád, and wrote a despatch with this information to the Sultán. On the third day he was informed that Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and Safdar Khán were alive, and staying at the village of Ráwanpál, in the *parganah* of Karí. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar-Sháhí" states that Kiwám-ul-Mulk sent him (the author) to bring in Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, so that Kiwám-ul-Mulk might concert with him measures for pursuing the Ráná. He accordingly brought him to the village of Malád, where the two nobles had an interview. Intelligence arrived that the Ráná had left I'dar and was marching back to Chítór. So the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar-Sháhí," in company with Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, left Kiwám-ul-Mulk and went to Ahmadnagar. On the sixteenth day after the fight they performed the obsequies of those who had been slain in it, and killed sixty *kólís* of Kánth who had come into Ahmadnagar to carry off grain; † but the next morning, in consequence of scarcity of supplies, they fell back to the town of Paránţij.

* This name is variously written. The reading adopted is that of the lithographed text.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" and other authorities explain that the *grássiahs* and *kólís* from I'dar and the vicinity, having conceived a contempt of Mubáriz-ul-Mulk from his recent defeat, came down to plunder, and sustained a heavy defeat. According to the "Tab. Akbarí," sixty-one *grássiah* chiefs of note were slain.

Sultán Muzaffar sent 'Imád-ul-Mulk and Kaisar Khán with a large army and a hundred elephants. They marched to Ahmadábád, and from thence to Malád, where they were joined by Kiwám-ul-Mulk, and went on with him to Parántíj. There they wrote to the Sultán, informing him that the accursed Ráná had retired to Chítór, and expressing their desire to follow him if the Sultán would so command. He replied that the rainy season was at hand; that they were to pass the rains in Ahmadnagar,* and at its conclusion march out to punish the infidel Ráná. The *amírs* came to Ahmadnagar, and there stayed. After the rains were over, the allowances for the whole army were increased from ten to twenty per cent., and a year's pay was issued from the treasury, so that every man might provide himself with what was requisite for the campaign.

The Sultán himself left Muhamadábád in the month of Shawwál, and went to the village of Hálól, three *kós* distant. From thence he proceeded by regular marches to Ahmadábád, where he took up his quarters in the buildings of Ghatmandól, near the Kankaríah tank. Here he was joined by Malik Aíáz, governor of the district of Sórath, who brought twenty thousand horse, with artillery and many gunners. He was received by the Sultán at an interview, and asked what necessity there was for the Sultán himself to march against the infamous Ráná, and said: "If the business be left to me, by the help of God and His Majesty's good fortune, I will bring back the Ráná alive in chains, or scatter his life to the wind of death." This proposition pleased the Sultán. In the month of Muharram, A H. 927 (December, A.D. 1520), he marched from Ghatmandól to the village of Harsíl, three *kós* from the city, and there encamped. He summoned thither the army of Ahmadnagar, which came and was incorporated with his force. Here Malik Aíáz reiterated and pressed his request, and the Sultán

* Firishtah says the Sultán would on no account allow Ahmadnagar to be abandoned, and therefore ordered the chiefs to advance and hold it.

gave him a robe of honour and appointed him to the duty. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar-Sháhí" writes that the army of Malik Aíáz consisted of one hundred thousand horse and a hundred elephants, and that with Kiwám-ul-Mulk were sent twenty thousand horse and twenty elephants. These two large armies marched to Morásah, and from thence to the village of Dhamólah, in the district of Bágar, where they encamped.*

Detachments were sent out to ravage all the country round, for the Rájah of Bágar had joined the Ráná in his attack. Dúngarpúr, which was the residence of this *rájah*, was burnt and reduced to ashes. They then marched, by way of Ságwárah to Bánsbálah. It so happened that Shujá'-ul-Mulk and Safdar Khán, with Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, were on guard on the extreme flank of the camp, with two hundred light horse, when a man informed them that the Rájah of Bánsbálah,† and some relatives of Médiní Ráó, with a body of men, were lying two *kós* off in the hills. These *amírs* immediately mounted and set off towards the hills. When the sentinels of the infidels saw that the Musulmáns were advancing with a small number of men, they came out and gave battle. On that day each brave Musulmán had to fight against ten men, and prodigies of valour and exertion were exhibited. In the end the breeze of victory blew upon the standards of Islám, and the infidels were defeated. Altogether seven or eight Musulmáns obtained martyrdom, and many of the wretched infidels were put to the sword.‡

* The power and magnificence of Malik Aíáz has been already described. The "Tab. Akbarí" says, while he was still at Morásah, the Sultán sent up Táj Khán and Nizám-ul-Mulk with reinforcements. Malik Aíáz remonstrated with the Sultán, saying that so large a force was unnecessary, and sent back some of the elephants. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that from Morásah the force marched to Dabál, and sent out detachments to ravage the country. Safdar Khán was sent against the Rájpúts of Lakíá Kót, a very inaccessible place. He killed many of them, and brought back the rest captive.

† The Rájah of Bánsbálah's name was apparently Udí Singh; for the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah give that name. Ugar Sén (whom Firishtah designates as "Ugar Sén *Purbiah*") was another leader. The latter was, the "Tab. Akbarí" says, wounded in this fight.

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," seventy Rájpúts were left dead on the field.

When intelligence of what was going on reached the camp, great bodies of men mounted and hastened forward. But before they arrived the victory was won, and the Musulmáns were returning triumphant. This display of Musulmán valour dismayed the infidels and made the heart of the Ráná dejected.

After this the army of Islám continued its march, and, passing through the *ghát* of Karjhí, reached and invested the fort of Mandisór, which belonged to the Ráná, and was held for him by Awásúk Mal Rájpút. This fort was very strong, the walls were ten *gaj* thick, and half of the fort, from its foundation upwards, was of hard stone, the upper half being of burnt brick; it was built by Sultán Hoshang, King of Mandú

The Ráná with a large army advanced to the village of Nadésí, twelve *kós* from Mandisór, and encamped. Malik Aíáz dug mines, raised covered ways, and pressed the siege of Mandisór; but Kiwám-ul-Mulk and other *amírs* were not on good terms with him. The Ráná now sent *wakíls* to Malik Aíáz to state that he had been guilty of a great and inexcusable fault; but if the Malik would have mercy, and pardon him, and intercede with the Sultán for him,* he would execute a document promising henceforth to do nothing inconsistent with submission and obedience. He also promised to return the elephants and the female captives, and whatever had fallen into his hands after the battle of Ahmadnagar, to the Sultán, with such an increase of tribute as might be determined. Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, of Mandú, now joined the royal army with his forces.

Silahdí, a Tuár † Rájpút by tribe, was on his way from the

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says the object of the Ráná was to send envoys to the Sultán. It says that Malik Aíáz was induced to listen to these proposals (though the trenches were complete and the saps run up to the walls, so that the fall of the fort was only a question of a day or so), by the disaffection and insubordination of Kiwám-ul-Mulk and those who sided with him. This is quite in accordance with Kiwám-ul-Mulk's character; and though the Sultán eventually blamed Malik Aíáz for coming to terms, it is not clear that he had not good reason for doing so.

† This description of Silahdí's tribe is only in MS. A, and there doubtful.

fort of Ráísín, with ten thousand horse, to have an interview with Malik Aíáz, but Médiní Ráó went and met him on the way and enticed him over to the Ráná. All the Rájahs of the country round went to the support of the Ráná. Thus on both sides enormous forces were assembled. But the enterprise of Malik Aíáz did not advance, in consequence of the ill-feeling entertained against him by the *amírs*,* Kiwám-ul-Mulk and the others, who were old *protégés* of Sultán Muzaffar and of his predecessors.

No progress was made in the siege of the fort, and out of spite to Kiwám-ul-Mulk and his friends, Malik Aíáz agreed to make peace. Kiwám-ul-Mulk was very discontented, and proposed to Sultán Mahmúd that they should unite their forces and attack the Ráná.† The Sultán expressed his willingness. But as Malik Aíáz was commander-in-chief of the army, and a household servant of Sultán Muzaffar, the Sultán winked at what was going on, and Malik Aíáz concluded peace with the Ráná without informing the Sultán or Kiwám-ul-Mulk, and marched off to the distance of ten *kós*,‡

* See above. Both the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah say that Kiwám-ul-Mulk had run his saps right up to the walls, and was ready to make an assault, when, out of jealousy, Malik Aíáz forbad it. The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah both say that, on the next day, Mubáriz-ul-Mulk and some other officers started, without orders, to make an attack on their own account; but Malik Aíáz sent Malik Toghluk Fúládí after them and brought them back. Malik Aíáz had a sap of his own ready, and a mine under one of the bastions, and fired the mine, intending to make an assault. (The mine at this time was not usually charged with gunpowder, but the foundations of the walls, being undermined, were supported by timbers, and these being set on fire, when burnt left the walls above without foundation, and they toppled down.) The mine was successful, and brought down the bastion; but it was found that the Rájpúts had retrenched the ground behind, and the breach was not practicable.

† The "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" and Firishtah say that there was a meeting between the leaders of the discontented party and Sultán Mahmúd, and that they had actually fixed on the following Thursday for an independent assault. The meeting was at once betrayed to Malik Aíáz by one of those present, and he then sent an officer to remonstrate with Sultán Mahmúd, much in the terms that Sultán Mahmúd is here reported to have employed to Kiwám-ul-Mulk.

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," he marched to "Khiljípúr" the very morning which the discontented nobles had fixed for their attack; and when he retired, Malik Aíáz is said to have given out that he was only retiring to Díú, to prepare for a new campaign in the ensuing year, when the Sultán would take the field in person.

and halted there. Sultán Mahmúd also, forgetful of his duty, came to terms with the Ráná, on condition that the Ráná gave up the Sultán's son, whom he held a prisoner, and made a suitable present Sultán Mahmúd then told Kiwám-ul-Mulk that Malik Aíáz was commander of the army, and as he stated that he was acting under the directions of Sultán Muzaffar, it would be very wrong for them to do anything against the wishes of the Sultán. He then went back to Mandú. Although the *amírs* were very much dissatisfied, they could not do anything. Finally Malik Aíáz marched back to Gujarát.

When they reached Ahmadábád, the Sultán was very cold to Malik Aíáz, and all the people of Gujarát called him "coward." The Sultán gave out that, after the rains, he would himself renew the campaign. He dismissed Malik Aíáz to Sórath, and, in consequence of his displeasure, he did not give the Malik the usual robe of honour on his taking leave.

The Sultán passed the rainy season at Muhamadábád, and at its termination, in the year H. 929 (A.D. 1523), he commenced his intended expedition against the Ráná and marched to Ahmadábád. There the son of the Ráná brought to him the elephants and tribute agreed upon,* so the expedition was given up. Shortly after, the Sultán went on a hunting excursion to Jháláwár, and after enjoying himself for a while he returned to Ahmadábád, where he stayed during the hot weather and the rainy season in ease and comfort. Thence he sent back the son of the Ráná. In this same year Malik Aíáz died. When the Sultán was informed of it he said,† "The life of Malik Aíáz has come to its close; it would have been better if he had been killed fighting against the Ráná, for then

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah this course was pursued by the Ráná in accordance with secret advice sent to him by Malik Aíáz the previous year, after the conclusion of the treaty. The Ráná's son seems to have advanced as far as Morásah, and thence to have announced his advent to the Sultán.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí" the Sultán grieved much for the loss of Malik Aíáz.

he would have been a martyr." He confirmed the *mansab* of Aíáz to his eldest son, Is,hák, and when he called for the treasure of Sórath, Is,hák sent it with many precious stuffs.

The Sultán proceeded, by way of Kapparbanj, from Ahmadábád to Mahmúdábád, where he passed the rainy season. Afterwards, at the beginning of the year H. 930 (A.D. 1524), he went out to Morásah to look after the administration of his territories.* He entirely rebuilt and refortified the fort of Morásah. When the hot season was near he set out for Ahmadábád. On the way his chief wife, Bíbí Rání, mother of Prince Sikandar Khán, died. She was a counsellor of right judgment and of great influence in the affairs of the kingdom, and lavished a mother's care on all, high and low. She was noted in her day for the singular firmness of her decisions. She was buried in the mausoleum of the Sultán's mother, near Ghatmandol, where the Sultán remained three days, and then returned to Ahmadábád; he was much grieved at the death of the Bíbí, and was so affected that he was ill for some days. When he recovered he went to Muhamadábád and there passed the rainy season.

About this time 'A'lam Khán,† son of Sultán Bahlól, who

* According to Firishtah there had been an insurrection in those parts, which called for his intervention.

† 'A'lam Khán appears to have been a common name in the Lódí tribe. Three of them are mentioned in this history, of whom the 'A'lam Khán here spoken of was the most important. He may be called 'A'lam Khán (I.). He was a son of Bahlól Lódí, the founder of the Lódí dynasty of Dehlí, brother to Sikandar Bahlól, and uncle of Ibráhím Sháh, the two succeeding kings. He seems to have shown a turbulent disposition in his brother Sikandar's lifetime, and he appears to have been more or less in revolt against Ibráhím Sháh, when, as here stated, he took refuge with Muzaffar Sháh at Gujarát. His attempt against his brother, here mentioned, having failed, he took refuge with the Emperor Bábar at Kábul. He was protected and made use of by Bábar, but, making a somewhat rash advance against Dehlí, in which he exhibited no great generalship, he was defeated. He was at this time alienated from Bábar, and did not fly to him, but took refuge in the Lower Himálaya range. 'A'lam Khán, however, again joined Bábar, and held a command under him at the battle of Kánwah against Ráná Sangá, but seems, according to Badáóní, to have gone into rebellion at Jónpúr, in 937 A.H. He was then sent by Bábar, as a prisoner, to Badakshán, but escaped thence, and found his way through Bilúchistán and Sind to Gujarát, where he was protected by Bahádar Sháh. His son, Tátár Khán Lódí, who had previously fled to Gujarát, joined him here, and was employed by Bahádar Sháh to march on Dehlí, to create a diversion, when Humáiún

had come (to Gujarát) in the reign of Sultán Mahmúd, waited upon the Sultán, and stated that his brother's son, Sultán Ibráhím, had killed several of the chief nobles, and had given dissatisfaction to the army. For this reason many soldiers and nobles of Sultán Ibráhím were disaffected, and had summoned him ('A'lam Khán); he, therefore, asked the Sultán's leave to depart and go to Dehlí. The Sultán furnished him with an outfit and gave him his dismissal. 'A'lam Khán went to Dehlí, and styled himself Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín; but he was defeated by Sultán Ibráhím, and failed in his pretension; so he fled to Zahír-ud-dín Bábar, at Kábul, and gave him such information as led to his invasion of Hindústán, and the overthrow of 'A'lam Khán's own family.

In the year H. 931 (A.D. 1525), Sultán Muzaffar went from Muhamadábád to Ahmadábád, and from thence towards Morásah to hunt. He returned to Ahmadábád for the hot season. At this time Prince Bahádar Khán represented that the *jágír* which had been assigned to him was insufficient for his expenses, and he hoped that he might receive a *jágír* not less than that of Sikandar Khán. The Sultán did not comply with this request, and Bahádar Khán being aggrieved, went off in the month of Rajab to Dúngarpúr. Ráwal U'di Singh,* the Rájah of that place, hastened forth to meet him, and paid him every civility. After remaining there some days the Prince went on to Chítór. The Ráná was very respectful to

attacked Gujarát. The failure of that expedition is duly recorded in the present work. After this, 'A'lam Khán, as he is called, continued attached to the Gujarát court, but it is a little difficult to distinguish between his actions and those of a namesake at the same court. However, it is certain that he attached himself to Dariá Khán's party in the early part of the reign of Sultán Mahmúd (III.), and was, during Mahmúd's first term of independent power, cruelly and wantonly put to death by that sovereign, at the instigation of his favourite Jarjí.

† Ráwal U'di Singh, here called Rájah of Dúngarpúr, is called in the "Tabakát-i-Akbarí" "Rájah of Pál." Pál seems to have been used in those days as a kind of general name given to a congeries of petty hill states, of which the rulers were Hindús, and probably all, or nearly all, Rajpúts. They seem to have included Dúngarpúr, Bíjanagar, Bánsbálah, and others. The name of Pál occurs pretty frequently in this work, and seems to have been a sort of alias for political fugitives from Gujarát.

him, and showed him every attention. Events then occurred there which will have to be related hereafter. From thence the Prince proceeded to Mewát. Hasan Khán Mewátí* professed that everything he possessed was at his disposal, and that he himself was ready to serve him in any way he might indicate; but the Prince would not accept anything from him, and went on his way to Sultán Ibráhím Lódí, just at the time when that sovereign was confronting His Majesty Zahír-ud-dín Bábar Bádsháh at Pánípat, forty *kós* from Dehlí.

Sultán Ibráhím sent for Bahádar Khán, and received him with great consideration and honour. One day a party of Moghals made several of Sultán Ibráhím's men prisoners, and were carrying them off. Bahádar Khán, with a party of his own men, pursued, for forty *kós*, and, having come up with them, a fight ensued. Several of the Moghals were killed, and Bahádar Khán returned with the men he had rescued. When this became known, the people of Dehlí used to talk much in praise of Bahádar Khán; but when Sultán Ibráhím understood that Bahádar Khán had become popular among the people of Dehlí, and that they were heart and soul devoted to him, he was very vexed and took alarm,† and became cool towards Bahádar Khán, and appeared to wish to be rid of him. Ba-

* Hasan Khán Mewátí. Firishtah says (Briggs, vol. ii. pp. 58, 59) that his family had been renowned in Mewát for two hundred years. He was killed by a musket-ball, fighting gallantly against Bábar at the battle of Kánwah, in 933 A.H. The "Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh" says he fell by a sword-wound in the face, and that his followers threw his body into a well. It describes him as كافر كلمه گو *káfir kalimah gú*, "an infidel who repeats the creed," evidently considering him to be very little of a Mahomedan. His capital appears to have been at Alwár. Badáóní in the "Muntakhab-ut-Tawáríkh" says that after his death he was personated by a pretender, who arose in 940 A.H., and again in 965 A.H., and says that Bairám Khán said that he did not at all resemble the true Hasan Khán, who was a man of royal presence. The pretender was eventually put to death by the Méwátís themselves.

† As is mentioned further on, Sultán Ibráhím had become extremely unpopular among the nobles and people of Dehlí, and a conspiracy was set on foot to poison him and to raise Bahádar Khán to the throne of Dehlí in his place. The "Tab. Akbarí" confirms this story, which is in itself far from improbable, but there seems no reason to think that Bahádar Khán was privy to the plot; indeed, the action he took seems to negative this idea. Firishtah generally corroborates the story.

hádar Khán perceiving this, departed from him, and went to Jónpúr. The inhabitants and nobles of Jónpúr were very dissatisfied with Sultán Ibráhím, and had sent a message secretly to Bahádar Khán, inviting him to come there, and promising to obey and support him to the utmost of their power. Prince Bahádar Khán accordingly was about to go there, when he heard of the death of his father, Sultán Muzaffar, and went off to Gujarát.

When Sultán Muzaffar heard that Prince Bahádar had gone away, offended, towards Bágar, he directed his *wazír*, Khudáwand Khán, to draw up a document consenting to the Prince's request, and giving to him the increase of *jágír* he desired, and ordered him to send the document to the Prince, so that he might return. Khudáwand Khán informed the Sultán that the Prince had gone on to Sultán Ibráhím Lódí, of Dehlí, who was greatly pleased with his manners and character. On hearing this account the Sultán was exceedingly vexed,* and gave expression to his regret. Shortly after this he left Ahmadábád, and went to Muhamadábád. This is, at least, the account which is given by the writer of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí"; the story current in Gujarát will be related presently. At this time there was a scarcity of rain, which caused great disturbance and complaints among the people. Sultán Muzaffar lifted up his hands in prayer to God and said, "O Lord, if for any faults of mine my people are afflicted, take me from this world, and leave my people unharmed, and relieve them from this drought." For the Sultán was tender-hearted, and could not bear the sight of the poor and wretched. Moreover, since the prayers of a Sultán are entitled to acceptance, so the arrow of his prayers reached its mark, and the rain of mercy fell from the heavens; but the Sultán's health began to break up, his appetite failed. One day he was listening to the com-

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí" he distinctly stated as his reason that he was afraid lest Bahádar Khán, by fighting against the Moghals, might involve the country of Gujarát in hostilities with the latter people.

mentary of the reader of the Kurán, and observed: "I read more of the Kurán now, in the days of my sovereignty, than I did before I came to the throne. This morning I have heard half of the reader's commentary. I trust to hear the other half in heaven." All those present expressed a hope that he might live for a hundred and twenty years, but he said, "No doubt men wish their lord to live long, and men themselves love this life; but I daily find myself getting worse, and my limbs are losing their power."

At last the Sultán felt that it was impossible he should ever get better, and while still sick, in the year H. 932 (A.D. 1526), he left Muhamadábád and went to Baródah, otherwise called Daulatábád, to take farewell of the place where he resided in his early life. After staying there a few days he went to Ahmadábád, to visit the tomb of his father, and from thence to the palace of Ghatmandól. He grew weaker day by day, and for a month he had no inclination for food; but he one day went into the palaces within the city, and directed Khúzan Khán, one of his intimate companions, to distribute charity, saying: "Khúzan Khán, I have accumulated much wealth, for which I must account hereafter; wherefore, then, should I increase the account?" It was plain that his end was near. Eventually, when men altogether despaired of the Sultán's recovery, Prince Latíf Khán, knowing that his brother Sikandar was the heir-apparent, was afraid that Sikandar would not suffer him to live. So on the 1st Jumádi-ul-awal he removed with his family to Baródah. Some say that the Sultán gave him a hint to do so. On the 2nd of the month, after morning prayer, the Sultán sent for Sikandar Khán, and gave him salutary counsel as to the government of the State. He added: "Do not injure your brothers, and do not any harm to your nobles upon suspicion, or evil will come upon the State." Sikandar wept, and the Sultán bade him farewell, telling him to go home and come back again.

The Sultán then went in a litter to the elephant-house and

the stables. He said, "I have taken leave of everyone else; to-day is Friday, and I will now say farewell to all my household, and ask their forgiveness." He accordingly asked the people of his offices for their forgiveness, and all, with heart and tongue and tearful eyes, expressed that forgiveness. After this he went into his sleeping-room, and ordered his attendants to remove his bed from off a couch which had belonged to his predecessors, and to place it on another; "for this," said he, "belongs to my successor." When this was done, he heard the voice of the crier uttering the Sabbath summons to prayer. He said, "I have not strength to go to the *masjid* myself"; but he sent several of his attendants. After a short time he made his ablution, and said the prayers; then he put up humble and earnest supplication for pardon. After that he stretched himself out on the couch, repeated the confession of faith three times, and rendered up his soul to heaven, leaving behind him a good and righteous name. He was buried in the mausoleum of Sultán Mahmúd, over against the tomb of the holy Shékh Ahmad Khattú. This happened on the 2nd Jumádi-ul-ákhír, H. 932 (A.D. 1526). He had reigned fourteen years and nine months. It is said in Gujarát that no one of its kings excelled Muzaffar in understanding and learning and wisdom.

It is related that once, on the night called the Night of Power* (27th Ramazán), Sultán Mahmúd was conversing with holy and learned men, who were repeating stories and verses, when a certain wise man said, "In the Day of Judgment the sun shall descend from heaven, and shall burn up with its rays all the disobedient.† In that day he who can repeat the

* "The Night of Power," *Shab-i-Kadr* or *Lailat-ul-Kadr*. It is said that on this night all the vegetable creation bow in adoration of the Almighty, and the waters of the ocean become sweet ("Qánoon-i-Islám," p. 258, 2nd ed.). Muhamadans are supposed to sit up the whole night, engaged in religious exercises; and on those who thus sit up the angels are said to shower down hourly blessings till the morning.

† "The Sun of the Resurrection." The sun of the Resurrection is declared by the Kurán (chap. lxxv.) to be in conjunction with the moon, and tradition declares they both shall rise in the west. That it shall burn up

Kurán by heart shall, with seven generations of his ancestors, find shelter with the Prophet of God, nor shall any harm happen to them, by reason of the words which he keeps enclosed in his breast."* The Sultán sighed sadly, and said, "None of my sons has been trained to this holy work, so that I might hope for this blessing."

Sultán Muzaffar was present at that meeting, and heard what Sultán Mahmúd said. A few days later he took leave and came to Baródah, which he held in *jágír*, and gave himself up to learning the Kurán and repeating it by heart. Indeed, by his excessive reading, and by sitting up late at night, a weakness in his eyes was produced. His friends remonstrated with him, and recommended him to lay aside his work for a few days; but Khalíl Khán said, "Even if it be the case that my reading and watching make my eyes red, that redness shall be to my advantage both in this world and in the next." He laboured so hard that, in the space of a year and some months, he could repeat the entire Kurán by heart. In the month of Ramazán he went to the Sultán, and said that if the Sultán wished he was ready to repeat the whole Kurán to him by heart. The Sultán was delighted beyond all expression, and a little later on asked the Prince why he had learned to do this. He then recalled to the Sultán his exclamation in the assembly that night, and said he had then made up his mind to learn the Kurán by heart. The Sultán took him on one side and kissed his eyes and face, and praised and blessed him. It is related that after the Prince had finished his repetition in that month of Ramazán, the Sultán said, "How can I sufficiently thank and reward Khalíl Khán, who has thus rescued me and my ancestors from the flames of the Sun of the

the disobedient does not seem to be specifically foretold by the Kurán itself, but the tradition is not out of harmony with the general tenor of the predictions of that work. It is held that the sun will, on this day, be but a mile above the earth.

* This story appears to be wholly traditional, nor is it clear on what authority it is founded.

Resurrection? The only thing I have to give is my kingdom, and that I will give to him in my lifetime: may it be a blessing to him!" On this he descended from his throne and placed Khalíl Khán on it, and himself sat down on another. The next morning he invited all the *mullás*, *wazírs*, nobles, and troops to a feast—such a feast, men say, as no king ever gave before; and after the feast was over, he informed all the guests of what had passed on the previous night—as to the disposal of the kingdom to Muzaffar, and the repetition of the Kurán—and they all burst out into praises of the Sultán and of the Prince.

Another story is that the Sultán had a horse unsurpassed, in his days, for beauty and swiftness. It was reserved for the Sultán's own special riding. This horse was one day seized with gripes, and after they had given it all kinds of drugs without advantage, somebody said that if they gave it pure spirits * this would effect a cure. They did so, and the horse got well. The Master of the Horse made his report to the Sultán saying: "To-day, such-and-such horse had gripes; medicines were of no use, so at last we gave pure spirits, and the horse got well at once." The Sultán bit the finger of sorrow with the teeth of regret, but he never rode that horse again.

It is said that the Sultán, both during his reign and before it, would never taste anything intoxicating. One day Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang begged him to take something of the kind. He replied: "Ah, no! Once, in my childhood, when I was about five or six years old, my foot slipped on stairs leading up to the top of the house, and I fell to the ground and was very much hurt and bruised. On this Háns Bái, my grandmother,† who had charge of my bringing up, gave me

* To give spirits to a horse suffering from gripes is a very usual practice in Indian farriery, and in certain cases seems to be useful. [*Cf.* "The Griffin's Aide-de-camp," a veterinary work much valued in India, p. 164, 3rd ed. (of 1860).]

† See *ante*, p. 239.

three cups of wine.* I became exceedingly sick, and came near to death. Háns Bái saw in a dream a man who said to her, 'You gave Khalíl Khán wine?' She answered, 'Yes.' The man then said, 'Repent, and never again let wine touch his lips, in order that he may now recover.' She said, 'I repent.' And then she started† and awoke; and inquired, and found that I was better. I remember that I tasted wine then, but the Lord Almightly has, since then, preserved me from such polluted things." It is said that the Sultán would not mention the name of intoxicating drugs, and, if it were necessary to speak of them, he used to call them by the name of "pill," so that to this day the people of Gujarát call *ma'jún* "pill."

The Sultán never omitted any devotional rite, and always performed his ablutions before doing anything, following in all things the traditions of the Prophet of God. He always, moreover, had death in his mind, and thought of it with an anxious heart and tearful eyes. He was full of respect and kindness for the 'Ulemá, but did not consort with darwéshes; indeed, he thought them a useless set, because they were apparently rivals of the 'Ulemá.‡ When, however, he became acquainted with the holy Shékh Jíú, the son of Säíd Burhán-ud-dín, surnamed Kutb-ul-'A'lam, he became, by intercourse with him, of a different mind, and used to listen to their teachings and to frequent their company, and was illumined by their wisdom.

Many anecdotes of the Sultán's excellence are current among the people of Gujarát. The following are some of them. Malik Allahíah,§ entitled Hazbar-ul-Mulk, one of the Sultán's

* See what is said *ante*, p. 69 and note, as to "three cups" of wine.

† Lit. "Her foot slipped," the well-known sensation which often awakes a sleeper.

‡ Other MSS., "because the 'Ulemá imputed to them that they were Súfís."

§ This story, though senseless in itself, is merely given as a sample of the spirit in which the book is written, and of the manners of the times.

associates, had no son, and was greatly grieved at this circumstance, so that he desired to go on a pilgrimage to Makkah to pray for a son; and, with tears in his eyes, waited on the Sultán, and begged for leave for that purpose. The Sultán desired him to wait, saying that the Lord might yet give him a son. The Malik waited accordingly. The Sultán fasted, and the next morning, after the prayers which he said on awaking, lifted up his hands to the Creator, and prayed that Malik Allahíah might have a son. On Friday night of that same week he saw the Holy Prophet in a dream, who told him that Malik Allahíah should have two sons, but that, for this object, he must marry another wife. The Sultán, on hearing this, awoke in great delight, and, after performing the morning ablutions, returned repeated thanks to God. He then selected a girl out of his household, a Rájpútní by birth and very pretty, and took her with him to Malik Allahíah's house, and gave her to him in marriage, telling him that he would have two sons by her. Eventually a son was born, and the Sultán went to congratulate the Malik, and called the *azán* in the child's ear,* who was named Lutf-ullah.† Sáid Mahmúd, son of Sáid Jalál Manówar-ul-Mulk, used to say that he knew the boy in the reign of Ahmad II., and that he then had the title of Hazbár-ul-Mulk. Another son was subsequently born, who also eventually gained a title.

The Sultán had a strong love for the Prophet, and on his birthday always made a great feast in honour of his pure spirit, when he himself would pour water on the heads of the Sáids and 'Ulemá, all of whom he used to invite. And when they took leave he used to give to each money, clothes, and costly stuffs sufficient to last him for a year.

* The Muhamadan custom is that, as soon as a new-born baby is wrapped in its swaddling clothes for the first time, it is carried out by the midwife to the male relatives and friends assembled on the occasion; then the *azán*, or summons to prayer, is uttered aloud in his right ear and the creed in his left. This is usually done by the *Khatíb*, or preacher, or any other person present. ("Qánoon-i-Islám," p. 6, 2nd ed.)

† As to naming children, see "Qánoon-i-Islám," pp. 7–21 (2nd ed.).

One day when he was reading the Kurán and came upon a text regarding the Day of Resurrection, he involuntarily burst into tears, and said, "Oh, what will my condition be in that day?" Mián Shékh Jíú, who was an intimate companion of the Sultán, said, "I can tell! You have committed no great crime; your acts have been, for the most part, ordered in accordance with the devotion and obedience which you owe to God. The people of the Lord are satisfied with, and grateful to you; that day will exalt you to honour." The Sultán wiped the tears from his eyes and said, "There is a heavy load on my shoulders, that is the reason why I weep."

Säíd Jalál Bukhárí Manówar-ul-Mulk used to say: "I was four years old when my father, Säíd Muhamad, was slain in battle. On the third day after his death, Asad-ul-Mulk, whose name was Shékh Jíú Tamím, one of the Sultán's great nobles, took me by the hand and led me into the Sultán's presence, recounting the facts of my father's death. The Sultán called me up and stroked my head and face, saying, 'This boy shall always be well off!' From that day till I was ten years old I was continually about the Sultán, and never once saw the Sultán angry with anyone, or do anything unkind. The Sultán did not like Kiwám-ul-Mulk, for he did not show him the respect due by a servant to his master; but because he had been an intimate associate of the late Sultán he always showed him the greatest consideration. After Sultán Mahmúd's death he was made *ábdár*; and in the Ramazán, when the time for eating arrived, he used to bring water, and the Sultán used to receive it at his hands, but while doing so used to recite various texts and prayers as antidotes; still, out of kindness, would not relieve him of this duty. At last the Malik himself became aware of this state of things, and said to the Sultán, "Your slave is old, and cannot perform the duties of *ábdár*." The Sultán replied: "If you cannot, who can?" The Malik answered: "My cousin. I was *ábdár* to his late Majesty when he was yet a prince; my cousin can

perform the duty: may it be entrusted to him as my deputy."*

During his entire life the Sultán never displeased any of his attendants, or used opprobrious names to anyone, but always spoke with propriety; nor was anyone ever offended with him, on any account.† He used to say, "If I were left alone in a solitary place, no one would do me any harm, for I have never done, nor am I doing, harm to anyone."

One day the Sultán took a bath before prayers. The water-carriers‡ used to pour water over him, and, after bathing his body, he used to call for water to be poured over his face and hands. It so happened that in the darkness of the night a musk-rat fell into the boiler, and was boiled down, flesh, intestines, bones, and all. The water-carriers being unaware of this, some of them took some water thence in a jar, and poured it over the Sultán's face and hands, with all the intestines, skin, and flesh of the musk rat. The Sultán started aside, and, throwing himself into the bath again, dashed water over his face with his own hands. He then came out of the bath and went to prayers. After prayers he sent for the water-carriers, who came to him despairing of life. The Sultán asked how many men were employed on this duty. They replied, "One hundred." He said again, "Cannot this hundred do the work of one man properly? I am an old man, and can pardon the offender; but my sons are young—how will you satisfy them? You came to me in fear of your lives; how do you think it will be with my sons if you wait on them after this fashion? Will your lives be safe with them, you miserable men, if you are equally careless with them? I have said this to you that you may mend your behaviour." Ultimately,

* The text of this story varies greatly; the version here given is, however, the only one which seems to yield sense.

† See p. 291.

‡ The word is *áftáb-chí*. The business of these men was to prepare the water for baths and for ablutions, whether hot or cold. "Jouhar," the well-known author of the "Tazkirat-ul-Wakí'at," was *áftáb-chí* to the Emperor Humáiún.

during the reign of Sultán Bahádar, the son of Sultán Muzaffar, these very same water-bearers poured some water a little too hot on the Sultán's hands, and he ordered boiling water to be poured on the tenderest parts of their bodies, so that they died upon the spot.*

Sáid Jalál-ud-dín Bukhárí told me that the Sultán used every day to write out in a formal hand† a passage of the Kurán, and when the volume was finished, he used to send it either to Makkah or to Madínah, for the use of persons who publicly recited the Kurán. One day, when he was employed on this work, he had just finished a page very neatly, and, being much pleased, exclaimed, "I have written this page particularly well." The bystanders crowded round to look. One Latíf-ul-Mulk, surnamed Soundhá, who was on guard behind the Sultán with a drawn sword, was stupefied with opium, and let his sword fall on the Sultán's wrist, and knocked the pen out of his hand, which, falling on the page, blotted it in several places. The rest of those present hustled Soundhá out of the room. The Sultán said nothing, but took out his pen-knife and erased the blots, rubbing some whitening over them, and drew a circle round them, and began to write again. When he had finished the passage he placed his pen in the pen-case, and said, "Where is that Kand?" for in Hindí *kand* means "a bad smell,"‡ while *soundhá* means "a sweet odour."§ Shékh Jíú Asad-ul-Mulk, taking advantage of this favourable opening, said, "Your Majesty, he stands outside in great grief, and desires to say that he has committed a grievous offence, and that the Sultán may cut off his hands, or cast him under the feet of an elephant." The Sultán remarked: "What

* The text is here necessarily paraphrased.

† *Naskh.* Firishtah says not only that the Sultán was himself a beautiful writer (an accomplishment very highly valued throughout the East), but that he was a great patron of those who wrote well, and mentions specially one Mullá Mahmúd Sïáúsh, who came from Shiráz to Gujarát, and was received with much honour.

‡ Lit. "garlic."

§ *Somdhá* is the Gujarátí word for a sweet scent.

good will it be to cut off his hands, or to cast him before an elephant?—only don't let him come before me again." Shékh Jíú said, "It will be hard for him to be banished from your presence: where else can he go?" The Sultán said, "Very well; only don't let him eat 'pill' again, or get intoxicated." So it came to pass that in the very same *darbár* the Shékh Jíú brought the man in again; he fell at the Sultán's feet, was forgiven, and took up his sword and stood sentry behind the King again.

Shékh Jalál-ud-dín also used to say that among the water-carriers there was a sharp and lively young boy, of whom the Sultán used to ask questions occasionally, and to get sharp answers, which amused him. After the Sultán had bathed, and his body was rubbed dry, the attendants used to remove his turban, wipe his head, and then replace the turban. The Sultán would then loosen two or three folds of his turban, and twist them up again. The boy, one day, said: "Is the cloth of your turban very fine?" The Sultán said, "Not particularly so, twenty of my servants wear finer; but you ought not to make impertinent remarks." The boy said, "If one is not to make impertinent remarks the Sultán will not look well, for his waist-cloth and turban are like those of Mullás and Bórahs." Asad-ul-Mulk slapped the boy's face, and he began to cry. The Sultán said, "Why do you strike him? He is only a little boy, and talks as he hears his father and mother speak. I do not mind his comparing my turban to those of Mullás, but I don't like it to be said that it resembles those of Bórahs, for they are heretics."*

One day a spirit-seller gave a petition into the Sultán's hand. He had on an iron ring, and in withdrawing his hand he tore the Sultán's sleeve. When the Sultán discovered that

* The only object of inserting this story is the mention of the Bórahs and the position they then held among orthodox Muhamadans. For further account of this peculiar class see "Rás Málá," pp. 343–4, *note*. They are of Hindú origin, and probably adhered to Hindú beliefs and practices to some extent.

he was a spirit-seller he called for water, and washed his hands, and ordered that for the future all petitions should be given to one of his attendants, or be placed on the end of a stick, and should not be given direct into the Sultán's hands.* The Sultán was wise and prudent, and therefore refrained from extravagance. Some covetous, evil persons have, for this reason, stigmatized him as parsimonious. But how can the Sultán be deemed parsimonious when he gave to Mahmúd Khiljí the entire land of Málwah, with all its treasures, which he had won from Médiní Ráó with so much labour, as has been above related? Unquestionably, other kings, such as Sultán Mahmúd and Muhamad, the son of Muzaffar,† dispensed money more freely than Sultán Muzaffar; but there is a vast difference between giving away money and giving away kingdoms. Nevertheless, Sultán Muzaffar could be liberal too, but under proper circumstances. Muhít-ul-Mulk, a eunuch to whom Sultán Bahádar, the son of Muzaffar, afterwards gave the title of Khán Jehán, was, during the reign of Sultán Muzaffar, employed as *kotwál* in the administration of the city of Ahmadábád. He lived to a very great age, and it is said that he was unequalled in aptitude for his duties; he could recognise a thief at once by his appearance. Once, going through the *bázár*, he saw a man sitting down; he stopped, and said to an executioner who accompanied him, called Jiwán, "Jiwán, seize that man." The bystanders were astonished, for the man had done nothing wrong, and they could not see the reason of the order; but when they seized and searched the man they found in his turban a number of keys for horse-chains, and it turned out that the man was the principal horse-stealer in the city. Khán Jehán attained to such reputation that through four generations of the Sultáns of Gujarát he retained his lands and allowances undiminished, and during the whole of that time was never removed or suspended. Indeed, every King gave him promotion and additional allowances.

* Lest they should pollute them. † *i.e.* Muhamad I.

Once on a time this Khán Jehán determined to make an inquiry as to persons who were dead, or who had emigrated.* On inquiry he found that, though there were many of the former, there was not one of the latter; for in those days Gujarát was a country so full of elegancies and delights that no foreigner who came there ever left it, nor did any native of the country ever settle elsewhere. On examination, he collected the arrears of the allowances of those who were dead, which amounted to a large sum of money, and took it to the Sultán. He asked what the money was, whence it came, and to whom it belonged. Muhít-ul-Mulk replied that it belonged to the Sultán, and the reason of its collection was that since the days of the first Sultán of the dynasty, Sultán Muzaffar, every King had been granting allowances of various sorts, and that, up to the present time, no inquiry had ever been made as to those of the recipients who were dead, or who had gone away. This had now been done; the overdrawn allowances of those who had died had been recovered, and were represented by the sum which he had laid before the Sultán. The Sultán got violently angry, and grossly abused him,† saying, "Everyone who is dead has either left a son alive, or a daughter, or, at any rate, dependents and servants. I tell you you have done very wrong, and if you have done it of your own motion you have done very ill." Afterwards the Sultán said, "Take away this money, and give it back to the persons from whom you collected it, and beg their pardon." And eventually he issued a general order to all administrating officers that, for the future, no allowance should be resumed on the death of its recipient, but should be divided according to the laws of inheritance.‡

* Literally, "who had fled" (*farárí*).

† The Sultán's language will not bear reproduction, and does not quite consort with his usual propriety of expression, as previously described.

‡ This policy, if interpreted in its literal sense, is far more liberal than anything else in India, and, if carried to its full extent, would soon become impracticable; but more than one monarch, Hindú and Muhamadan, professed to follow it. The idea is as old as the "Sakuntalá," in which the King is made to enunciate a similar decree.

A fixed sum was allotted to the poor of Makkah and Madínah, and these were regularly remitted every year. Every year, also, ships were provided, free of cost, for those who were going to Makkah, and for their return; and the expenses while on board were likewise defrayed by Government, so that they might not be compelled to spend their own money on themselves, but should be in a position to dispense it all in charity.

The Sultán was a great proficient in all military exercises. He was such an admirable swordsman that he would take the carcase of a goat in his left hand, and cut it in two with a single blow of the sword in his right hand. The Sultán* used to go about the city at night, and inquire into the condition of the poor, and of the people generally, and into the acts of the rich and noble. He would perambulate all the lanes and corners of the city, and listen to everything the people had to say, and in the morning he used to issue orders for punishment or compensation, as the case might be. One night he went into a *masjid* and found a man weeping bitterly. He asked the man what was the matter, and the latter complained that every night a certain debauched fellow used to force his way into his house, and that he could not keep him out, nor had he anyone to whom he could complain or who would redress him. The Sultán told him that he would not eat till he had slain this man, and told him to show the way to his house. That night, however, and the next also, the trespasser did not come. The third night the Sultán came to the *masjid*, and found the man weeping so bitterly that he did not notice the Sultán's arrival. When he was aware of it, he said, "The man has come to-night." The Sultán said, "Let us go. Shall I kill both, or the adulterer only?" The man replied, "The

* The object of this story, which is one in substance the same as that told of many other Eastern potentates, is to illustrate the Sultán's prowess as a swordsman; but in its outlines it may very likely be true. It is quite in accordance with Eastern ideas of justice, and the dilemma of the owner of the house in the end is very naturally described.

latter only." When they came to the house they found the man, and the Sultán exclaimed, "You are here! to-night the retribution for your acts has overtaken you!" The man seized his sword, and, in anticipation of attack, made a cut at the Sultán. The Sultán parried the stroke, and with a return blow cut the man in two. Then the Sultán felt faint, and sat down, asking the master of the house if he had anything to eat in the house, as he had eaten nothing since he vowed that he would not eat until he had killed the man. There was some bread of millet-flour, which the man gave the Sultán to eat. The owner of the house then said, "But what am I to do now? The *kotwál* will come, my house will be plundered. I shall be cast into prison, and taken before the Sultán." The Sultán answered, "I can remedy this also." So he returned to his palace, and sent for the *kotwál* at once; and when the latter came he told him to go to such and such a house, in such and such a quarter, without attracting the notice of the neighbours, and that he would find a corpse lying there, which he was to bury quietly in a corner. The *kotwál* acted accordingly.

The Sultán, also, was a capital archer. He was hunting once in the province of Sórath, and in galloping after a deer he got separated from his men, and came suddenly upon a band of Rájpút marauders. The Sultán attacked them with his arrows, killing several; the rest took to flight. Meanwhile, his followers came up, and found several Rájpúts lying dead, all killed by arrow wounds, on which they congratulated the Sultán and loudly praised his marksmanship. The Sultán, also, was a very skilful wrestler, so that not even leading wrestlers could compete with him, and he could put any wrestler of his day on his back. He was very skilful, also, in the art of breaching fortifications; in fact, if he took up any new art, it always appeared as if he had learned it before, he had so quick an intelligence; moreover, in wit and repartee he had no equal in his day.*

* Several specimens of the Sultán's wit are given, but they hardly deserve repetition, and would scarcely be reputed witty by a European audience.

The Sultán was also acquainted with all other arts, among them with music; he was, indeed, a very accomplished musician, and was a most accurate player. He had both a very pleasant voice and could perform on any instrument which came to hand—rubáb, sarmandal, or any other.* Many of the best living musicians took service with the King, and he himself was skilled in every part of musical science. One day he said, at an entertainment, "Is there any singing-woman now-a-days who can perform a *swáng sarasti*?"† that is to say, who could appear in character as Sarasti‡ (Sarasvati), and by word of mouth describe its meaning. "The Hindú books say," he went on to remark, "that the best poets, the sweetest singers, the most skilful musicians, and the most graceful dancers are required to produce a *swáng*. We must have, therefore, somebody who is endowed with all these accomplishments, and she ought, also, to be very beautiful both in face and person." In reply, the persons asked said, "The representation of a *swáng* is a very difficult thing. The only person at the present day who is capable of doing what you want is Your Majesty's dancing-girl, Champá, who excels in such things." The Sultán said, "Then let her do it," and desired them to prepare every-

* A list of instruments is given, except the *rubáb*, which was something between a guitar and a banjo. The instruments are all of Hindú origin apparently.

† *Swáng* is the ordinary Hindú term for a dramatic performance. Of the excellence of some of the old Sanskrit dramas nothing need be said here. Even now, dramatic performances of sorts, specially those which are comic and satirical, are much in vogue in many parts of India, and the passion of the Burmese for them is well known. They supply a sort of literature of the unlearned, and often deal with current events in a satirical or melodramatic manner.

‡ Sarasvati. Apparently the principal character of this dramatic piece was Sarasvati, the Hindú goddess of eloquence and learning. She was also the patroness of music and the arts. No knowledge seems to survive as to the nature of this particular drama, *Swáng Sarasti*, but, from the account given, it would seem to have comprised specimens of the varied accomplishments over which the goddess presided. The *háns*, or *rájháns*, is a quasi-fabulous bird, of great prominence in Sanskrit literature, and which was one of the appanages of the goddess Sarasvati. One of its qualities was the capability of separating milk from water when the two were mixed, a constantly quoted emblem of the separation between truth and falsehood in the administration of justice. The common Indian flamingo, which has a kind of straining apparatus on the sides of its beak, is, by natives of the present day, supposed to represent the true *rájháns*.

thing that was required for the purpose. They said they had everything that was wanted, except a *háns*, which is a species of water-fowl—for the play turns upon this. The Sultán desired them to summon all the jewellers in the city, and gave jewels and gold to make the *háns*. In six months it was ready, and then the Sultán gave an entertainment. Champá, the dancing-girl, came in in a guise so lovely that no language can describe it. First, there was a witty dialogue, interspersed with poetry; then a musical performance, which fairly drove the audience wild with delight; and dances followed, such as had never been seen before, and everybody was agreed that never in the world had there been such a dramatical performance.

Historians are unanimous that Muzaffar was distinguished by his great clemency. He carried it, however, to such a length that criminals, the turbulent and rebellious, lost all fear of punishment, and took to highway robbery and violence without apprehension, and impure libertines shed blood even within the city itself. The entire administration of the city was practically in the hands of Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang and Malik Kóbí, the Brahman,* who paid no regard to the Sultán's orders, and did whatever pleased themselves, whether the Sultán liked it or not. The Sultán would not extend the hand of punishment from out of the sleeve of patience, or draw the dagger of vengeance from its sheath; and when the people complained to him he would say, "You must pray, and I also will pray, to the Almighty to put an end to oppression and the oppressor." It is said that the reason of his forbearance was as follows: When Sultán Mahmúd died, the nobles were much divided in opinion as to his successor. Some of them said, "Khalíl Khán has the disposition of a Mullá, and has no kingly dignity; his son, Bahádar Khán, would be a better choice, for he has all the qualities befitting the royal degree." Still, however, some of

* See notes, *ante*, pp. 249, 265. These two men seem to have been close allies, and to have played into each other's hands.

the nobles leaned to Khalíl Khán, and Malik Kiwám-ul-Mulk Sárang and Malik Kóbí said, "The Sultán, during his life, himself selected Khalíl Khán as his successor. For our parts, we are unable to acquiesce in setting aside his decision." Everybody agreed, and so Khalíl Khán was placed on the throne. This loyalty of theirs was accepted as an excuse for all their misdoings, as, for example, when the infidel Ráná came down, by their connivance, on Nizám-ul-Mulk. This was completely proved to the Sultán, but his regard for these men was not in the least shaken. At last, however, a matter occurred, as will be now related. Malik Kóbí was very fond of pleasure, and especially of giving entertainments. He collected a great number of dancing-girls, and on every occasion of an entertainment roses were brought in heaps to his house, so that if anyone else wanted roses on such days none were to be had in the *bázárs*. Among his dancing-girls was one called Dhású, of great beauty. It so happened that a young man, named Ahmad Khán, of the Táh tribe, a connection of the Sultán's,* fell in love with her before he had seen her, and on one of these festival nights disguised himself as a torch-bearer,† but was detected, seized, and beaten till he was nearly at the last gasp. The Malik then got frightened, and pretended not to have recognised Ahmad Khán, and tried to make his peace with him, professing that he was quite unaware who he was, and that if he wished to be present at the entertainment he should have let him know, and in such case he would have been most happy to invite him. Then he called for his own *pálkí*, and, placing Ahmad Khán in it, sent him home. The next day Ahmad Khán died of the beating. The Sultán was told, and was extremely grieved. The relatives of Ahmad Khán demanded the punishment of the offender. The Sultán sent him privately out of the way; but in the evening Malik Kóbí went from the Sultán's palace to his own house along the public high road,

* The Sultán's mother was of the Táh tribe. See *ante*, p. 239.
† And got into the assembly in that disguise.

and the relatives of Ahmad Khán set upon him and wounded him, but none of the wounds were severe. The *kótwál*, next morning, reported the affair to the Sultán, and detailed the nature of Malik Kóbí's wounds. Malik Kiwám-ul-Mulk said that Malik Kóbí was a loyal Brahman, and that the wounds inflicted by the disloyal would never hurt him. The Sultán took no apparent notice, but in his heart felt that it was not prudent to let a wounded snake escape. So he gave an order for the *hálán*, that is, the "plunder," of Malik Kóbí's house; the people rushed in, and in the twinkling of an eye cleared everything away of all the Malik possessed. Malik Kóbí himself they brought, with his hands bound, before the King, and prayed that the Sultán would order his execution. The Malik said: "I am a Brahman. I was a beggar. By your father's favour I rose to my present position. What I had was the Sultán's. It now has all been plundered. If two things had passed into the Sultán's possession, nothing else would give me any regret: one, a dancing-girl of unequalled beauty; the other, certain jewels, such as are rarely to be found except in the houses of Sultáns. But all has now been plundered and lost." The Sultán said, "Thou camest from nothing, to nothing thou shalt return,"* and then added, "By this infidel's oppression many Musulmáns have suffered sorrow. Put him to death." All present rejoiced at this order, and killed that accursed infidel as they would kill a dog.

When Sultán Mahmúd departed this life, and Sultán Muzaffar ascended the throne, several of the more prudent companions and disciples of Shékh Jíú Sáíd Muhamad† represented to him that it would be decorous on his part to pay a visit to the new Sultán with a *fátihah*, and congratulate him. The Sáíd replied that he had not latterly been on good terms with the father of the new Sultán, and that the latter was, moreover, a young man, and that young men did not usually much

* Some MSS. expand this speech, and give it in verse.
† The chief of the Batóh Bukháriat Sáíds at that time.

affect *darwéshes*. His friends urged that the throne of Gujarát had been conferred on the existing dynasty by the Shékh's ancestors, and that it would only be in conformity with ancient custom if he went to the Sultán; moreover, even if the late Sultán had not sufficiently recognised the merits of *darwéshes*, still, his son was wise and learned, and might do so. Finally, in accordance with the requests and good endeavours of his wiser friends, the Saint started for Chámpánír. When he arrived there all the nobles and *wazírs*, most of whom were his disciples, came out to meet him, and escorted him to the Sultán's palace. They brought him to a place near the private apartments of the Sultán. The porters ran off to inform the King of his arrival. The Sultán, unaware of the Saint's presence close at hand, said, "He has expressed his ill-will towards my father; what will he say of me?" The Saint overheard this speech, was offended, and, without waiting for an interview, set off home. Shortly after this, the Sultán went to Ahmadábád, but did not act as was usual, that is to say, when he passed the tomb of Shékh Ahmad Khattú he did not get off his horse and visit the shrine, but, without dismounting, merely recited a *fátihah* over his horse's head, and then passed on; neither did he take any notice of the Saint.*

Shortly after this the Sultán was taken very ill. It was just at the period of the annual festival held at the tomb of Shékh Ahmad Khattú. The night before the feast the Sultán said, "To-morrow is the festival of the Saint Kutb-ul-Kutáb; send some cooks to Sarkhéj, and prepare food to be offered in honour of his pure spirit, for I shall myself go there to-morrow." They acted upon his orders. That very night the Sultán, in a dream, saw the saint Kutb-ul-Kutáb,† who said to him, "O Muzaffar, why do you not come to my house?" The Sultán asked him, "Where is it?" The Saint rejoined, "It is at

* Who probably had come out on the road to pay his respects.

† The spirit of the deceased Saint Ahmad Khattú, called "Kutb-ul-Kutáb."

Batóh, in the house of the Shékhs, that is to say, in Shékh Jíú's house. Whosoever visits Shékh Jíú's house, visits also mine, and whosoever does anything to please him, pleases me. Go to his house, that the illness under which you are suffering may be exchanged for health." Next morning the Sultán called for his *pálkí*, and set off for Batóh. That same night Kutb-ul-Kutáb also appeared to Shékh Jíú, and said, "To-morrow Muzaffar will come; be merciful, and pass your hand over his head and back, and pray to the Almighty to restore him to health." The next morning, before the Sultán arrived, the Shékh said to his friends and companions that the Saint Kutb-ul-Kutáb had shown him that the Sultán was coming, and that they must therefore prepare food for him; and he sent also to the houses of all persons in Batóh who were his disciples to collect any victuals they might have. A few minutes later news came that the Sultán was coming. When he came to 'Ainpúrah the Sultán sent on one of his servants with a message to the Saint to say that he was hungry, and begged that the Saint would have some food ready for him. The Sultán came up shortly after, and, on arriving at the tomb of Kutb-ul-Kutáb, he got out of the *pálkí*, and, after performing the usual ceremonies, he turned to the Saint, and then these two great men looked at each other and smiled. At last the Saint said gently, "Since you have decided to seek the company of the *darwéshes*, they also desire your companionship." The Sultán then cast himself at the Saint's feet. The Saint passed his hand over the Sultán's head and face, and then stood on one side. All the young princes, in turn, cast themselves at the Saint's feet, and were presented to him; and the Saint then took them all to his house, and conversed with them. When the Saint perceived the Sultán's excellent qualities as a King, and as a man, he honoured him with his friendship. The Saint at length departed, and, going into his female apartments, sent out food for the Sultán. The latter begged the Saint to join them. The Saint at first declined, but when the Sultán

pressed him he came out and ate with them. The food was of the very best. When he had finished eating, the Sultán lay down to rest, but, rising at the time of midday prayer, performed his devotions under the guidance of the Shékh.* Afterwards the Sultán sat and conversed with the Shékh, and described to him the history of his illness. He said that he occasionally lost consciousness, and his spirits became much depressed; but since he had seen the Saint he felt somewhat better, and now hoped that he would recover altogether. The Saint prayed for the Sultán, and dismissed him. The Sultán afterwards remarked to his friends, "If I had not waited on the Saint, I should never have understood the delight of his acquaintance, and my life would have been wasted if passed in separation from him." From that day the Sultán became thoroughly devoted to the *darwéshes*.

Sultán Muzaffar was so merciful that he was known as "Muzaffar the Clement." He had eight sons—(1) Sikandar Khán, (2) Bahádar Khán, (3) Latíf Khán, (4) Chánd Khán, (5) Nasír Khán, (6) Ibráhím Khán, &c.; and he had two daughters, Rájí Rukiah, wife of 'A'dil Sháh Burhánpúrí, and Rájí 'A'shiah, wife of Fateh Khán, Prince of Sindh. Sikandar Khán and the two daughters were born of the same mother, Bíbí Rání. The mother of Bahádar Khán was Lakham Bái, daughter of a Góhil Rájpút. The mother of Latíf Khán was Ráj Bái, sister of Mahípat Rána, a Rájpút. Chánd Khán, Nasír Khán, Ibráhím Khán, and the other two sons were born in the harem. The control of the household of the kingdom and of the army were all in the hands of Bíbí Rání. Seven thousand servants who ate the bread of the State were in her employ.

The Sultán named Sikandar Khán his heir-apparent during his life-time. He had not much confidence in his other sons.†

* That is, as is Muhamadan custom, the Saint knelt with the Sultán behind him, and led in all the prayers and genuflexions.

† Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" both give a different account, and say that when he found he was dying someone told him that the army and Court

He gave each of them two or three villages that their means of living might be similar. Bahádar Khán held two villages in *jágír*, one called Kénj, nine *kós* from Ahmadábád near Mahmúdábád, the other Kohá, ten *kós* from the before-mentioned city, also Nábtah, near the village of Batóh, all the villages near which, except Nábtah, were appropriated for the maintenance of the tomb of the Saint Kutb-ul-Kutáb. Prince Bahádar was frequently at Batóh, and was enrolled as a disciple of the holy Shékh Jíú, who liked him and showed him much kindness.

Out of respect to Bahádar Khán, the Saint used always to address him as "Bahádar Sháh," some say as "Bahádar Sháh, Sultán of Gujarát." One day, at any rate, he made Bahádar Khán sit by him on his bed, and said publicly, "This man will some day be Sultán of Gujarát," and everybody present accordingly offered their respects, and did homage to him. This story got abroad, and when Bíbí Rání heard of it she was exceedingly disturbed and distressed. She told the King that she was alarmed and anxious, and desired that he would take Sikandar Khán to the Saint, and say that he had designated that Prince as his successor, and that he would entreat the Saint to concur in this decision, and to pray for Sikandar Khán and to show him favours. The Sultán replied that Bahádar Khán had a *jágír* near Batóh, and was thus continually waiting upon the Saint, and that the *darwéshes* were always pleased with those who danced attendance on them. He desired that the Rání would be of good cheer, for he had already notified that Sikandar Khán was to be his heir, that the troops and the people were all in his favour, and that both Bahádar Khán and the Saint very well knew that Sikandar Khán had been so appointed. He would, however, he said, go the very next morning to Shékh Jíú, and apprise him again of his intentions

were divided, part wishing for Sikandar Khán, but the majority for Latíf Khán, and that he answered, "And what of Bahádar Khán; is there no news of him?" from which speech it was inferred that he thought of him as a successor.

as to his choice of a successor, and would beg the Saint to bless Sikandar Khán. Bíbí Rání thanked the Sultán, but entreated that he would take Sikandar Khán with him to the Saint, present him to the latter, and beg his blessing for the Prince. The next morning Sultán Muzaffar went to the Saint, with all his sons, and had presented all of them to the Saint except Sikandar Khán. Just then Bahádar Khán came in, made a *salám*, and sat down between the Sultán and Sikandar Khán.* The Sultán, who was in earnest conversation with the Saint, was unaware that Bahádar Khán had come here, or where he had seated himself. The Sultán began to recommend Sikandar Khán to the Saint's favour, and said, "You know that Sikandar Khán is the eldest of my sons; he is also the most able and the best. I have therefore selected him to be my heir." So saying, he put out his hand behind him, and laid hold of the hand of Bahádar Khán, thinking that it was the hand of Sikandar, and added, "Will you pray for this man, that the Lord Almighty may make him Sultán of Gujarát?" The Saint replied, "Your request has found acceptance with the King of Kings. This man shall be Sultán of Gujarát, and shall, moreover, conquer other countries besides Gujarát." The Sultán looked round in delight at Sikandar Khán, and then found that he held the hand of Bahádar Khán in his. The Sultán was quite aghast, but the Saint added, "Your wish also shall be fulfilled." The wiser of the people of Gujarát, however, understood that the ball of good fortune in the game of *chaugán*† was with Bahádar Khán, and that Sikandar Khán had lost the kingdom of his forefathers.

The Sultán took his departure, and on his way home said to some of those about him, "Did you not see how improperly that little *kalandar*‡ (meaning Bahádar Khán) behaved to-day in seating himself above his elder brother?" and he said to

* They were apparently seated on a carpet in front of the Saint.

† The celebrated game closely approaching to "polo."

‡ A religious devotee devoted to poverty, probably meant in the sense of "that little hypocrite."

Sikandar Khán, "Why did you let your brother take precedence of you?" But Sikandar Khán was silent. The next day the Sultán summoned all the nobles, *wazírs*, and officers of the State, the paymasters and officers of the army, and sundry of the public with whom he was acquainted, and said to them, "Be it known to you all that Sikandar Khán will be Sultán after me. You are all bound to obey him." All present concurred, and expressed their thanks. The Bíbí and Sikandar Khán were both satisfied, but they did not think of the Divine decree, and were unaware of the calamities of the future. After this, though it had before been understood that the Sultán intended Sikandar Khán to be his heir, yet, as it was now formally announced, the troops and everybody else began to pay court to Sikandar Khán. The latter began to indulge the jealousy which he always felt for Bahádar Khán, and longed for his destruction. Bahádar Khán, therefore, took shelter with the Saint, living at Batóh, and was constantly in attendance on the Saint, who (as said above) was very fond of him. Bahádar Khán, however, used occasionally to play boyish tricks upon the people of Batóh. Sometimes he would knock their turbans off, and sometimes set his Georgian dogs* at those whom he disliked. There was one of Shékh Jíú's porters, named Kabíl, who was given to taking opium. Bahádar Khán used to give him presents, and food, and sweetmeats. One day he seized this man, tied up the legs of his drawers at the bottom, loosed the string which confined them round his waist, and slipped in a musk-rat. The man's legs and body were much scratched, and the blood ran from the wounds. In this condition he rushed before the Saint to complain. Some of the people present detested Bahádar Khán, and said that he was in the habit of knocking people's turbans off, and of setting dogs at them, and that one man had only escaped being torn to pieces by flying and taking refuge in a

* This word is not given in all the MSS. It probably means the hairy dogs known to Europeans as "Persian greyhounds."

house. On hearing this the Saint got very angry, and said that the hated dogs of Firangís should tear Bahádar Khán to pieces. On hearing this, Bahádar Khán was very penitent, and confessed his error; but the decree of fate prevailed in the end.

At length Sikandar Khán, in his envy of Bahádar Khán, began to compass his death. Bahádar Khán, becoming aware of this, arranged his plans with a few faithful attendants to go to Dehlí, and then went to take leave of the Saint, and told him that he had spoken to the Sultán on the subject of his brother's designs, and that the Sultán replied that he himself was old and weak, and that the doctors talked to him about curing a disease which was incurable; that God would give the kingdom to whoever was best fitted for it, and that Bahádar Khán would be acting against his own interests in going away. Why, the Sultán asked, could he not go into hiding for a time? "I have therefore," said Bahádar Khán, "determined on going to Dehlí." The Saint said that the kingdom of Gujarát was undoubtedly destined for him, but not in the immediate present. He therefore thought it would be wise for him to travel for a while, and so dismissed him. Bahádar Khán said, on going away, that if the kingdom of Gujarát was to come to him the income of his *jágír* (during his absence) might be expended on the poor, or on feasts at the tomb of the Kutb-ul-Kutáb. When the Saint was bidding Bahádar Khán farewell, he asked Bahádar Khán if he wished for anything else besides the kingdom of Gujarát. Bahádar Khán answered that he desired exceedingly to wrest the fort of Chítór out of the hands of infidels, and to make it over to the Musulmáns, in retribution for what the accursed Ráná had done at Ahmadnagar, when he slew so many Musulmáns and carried their women away captive. The Saint fell into a fit of profound meditation. Bahádar Khán repeated what he had said, but the Saint returned no answer; when he asked the third time the Saint said that the thing was possible, but that the fall of Chítór was conditional

on the Sultán's own destruction. Bahádar Khán exclaimed that he was willing to sacrifice a hundred lives for that object. The Saint said, "Be it so; I cannot control fate."

Shékh Jíú then said, "This is our last interview; you will soon come back, but you will not find me here."* He then entreated Bahádar to be kind to his son Sáíd Mahmúd, otherwise known as "Sháh Badah," who would, he said, be dependent on Bahádar's protection. Bahádar Khán then went to Chámpánír, and, having obtained a little money there, went off towards Dehlí. He went first to Bánsbálah, and thence to Chítór. The Ráná of that place received him with kindness, and showed him all possible attention. The Ráná's mother was a very sagacious woman, and used to call Bahádar Khán her "son." The nephew of the Ráná was much looked up to by the Rájpúts, for he was the son of the Ráná's elder brother, who was dead, and the Rájpúts regarded him as filling the place of his father, who had been a very remarkable man. This nephew invited Bahádar Khán to an entertainment at his house, and, after a day of amusement and pleasure, in the evening an entertainment was given. Among the dancing-girls was one of singular beauty, who danced exquisitely. Bahádar came nearer, to look at her, and the Ráná's nephew said, "Do you recognise her, and know who she is?" Bahádar Khán said, "Tell me." That ill-omened wretch replied, "She was the daughter of the Kází of Ahmadnagar,† and when the Ráná sacked Ahmadnagar I went to the Kází's house, killed him, and carried off this girl; the rest of his women and girls were carried off by the other Rájpúts." He had not finished speaking when Bahádar Khán struck him across the loins with his sword, and cut him in two. A great uproar arose. Bahádar Khán stood firm, his sword dripping with blood; the Rájpúts crowded round to kill him. Then the mother of the

* According to the lithographed edition, the Saint died in the year H. 931, in which year, also, these events are said to have taken place.

† The MSS. give somewhat differing versions of this story. That in the Hyderábád MS. has been here chiefly followed.

Ráná rushed in with a drawn dagger, and declared that she would rip herself up if anyone killed Bahádar Khán. When the Ráná heard the facts, he said that the infatuated young man, his nephew, had only been treated as he deserved for uttering such language to a prince of Gujarát, and he forbade anyone to injure Bahádar Khán. The Ráná added that if Bahádar Khán had not killed his nephew he should have done so himself. Shortly afterwards Bahádar Khán, finding that he was looked upon somewhat coldly in Chítór, left that place and went to Mewát. There Hasan Khán Mewátí met him with all honour, and offered him tribute, which the Prince would not accept. Afterwards, Hasan Khán asked if he desired to attack Gujarát, for in that case they were ready to assist him with money and troops to do so. Bahádar Khán thanked them for their loyalty to him, but said that he could not do anything so wicked as to attack his father. For the present, moreover, he was about to travel; afterwards, the Almighty knew what would happen.*

* As to Hasan Khán Mewátí, see note *ante*, p. 278.

CHAPTER X.

REIGN OF SULTÁN SIKANDAR, SON OF MUZAFFAR.

SULTA'N SIKANDAR ascended the throne on Friday, the 22nd Jumádi-ul-ákhir, A H. 932 (7th April, A.D. 1526), when his father Sultán Muzaffar died, and he shortly afterwards* went away to Muhamadábád. It is said that he went away without caring to visit the tombs of the holy men at Batóh, andwhen he was passing the tomb of the holy Burhán-ud-dín he did not go in nor speak to Shékh Jíú, the grandson of Burhán-ul-Mulk, whom they called the second Makhdúm-i-Jahánián; but, on the contrary, said to those about him, "This is the man who said that Bahádar Khán would be Sultán of Gujarát. He lied, and the man himself is a wanderer on the face of the earth."† When Shékh Jíú heard this he said, "We must not be perplexed; what God wills is coming to pass, and will appear at His right time." When he arrived at Muhamadábád, according to the practice of his ancestors, he there took his seat upon the throne on the 25th‡ of the same month. Every

* According to the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," which other authorities corroborate, Sikandar left Ahmadábád three days after his father's death.

† The text is here very corrupt; but the recension above adopted is supported by a comparison of MSS. and by the "Tab. Akbarí," which says that the Sultán "gave the holy man the lie," and "spoke unseemly words." The Saint and his followers probably came out on the road to meet the Sultán and make their obeisance to him, and this interview took place as he was passing.

‡ This date is probably incorrect. If the king remained three days after his father's death at Ahmadábád (as he would naturally do for his father's obsequies and other business), he *could* not well have reached Muhamadábád by the 25th. The correct date is, probably, the 28th or 29th, for the length of his reign is everywhere given as one month and sixteen days, and he was murdered on the 14th Sha'bán.

man who had served him in former days he advanced to a high position and title. He gave away one thousand seven hundred horses to his own followers, and from that cause the ministers and nobles of the late reign* were offended and alienated. He even offended 'Imád-ul-Mulk Khush-kadam, who was a king in his own way, and who had brought him up and pushed his interests.

Intelligence now came that Latíf Khán had set himself up in the hill country of Sultánpúr and Nandarbár, with the support of Bhím Rájah of Múnká,† and that several *amírs* were in correspondence with him. Sultán Sikandar raised Malik Latíf to the title of Sharzah Khán, and sent him with three thousand horse to drive Latíf Khán out of the mountains. When he entered the hills the Rájpúts and Kólís, having seized the passes on the road, attacked him, and after a sharp struggle Sharzah Khán and several other chiefs of name were killed, and it is said that one thousand two hundred Musulmáns fell. On hearing of this the Sultán sent Kaisar Khán with a large army.

About this time sundry nobles having gained the confidence of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, told him that the Sultán had a design upon his life, and that he must be on his guard. 'Imád-ul-Mulk said, "If the Sultán has resolved to take my life, why should I not be beforehand and attempt his?"

One night the Sultán saw in a dream Kutb-ul-Kutáb, Sháh 'A'lam, and Shékh Jíú; Muzaffar Sháh was also with them. Muzaffar Sháh said to Shékh Jíú, "Surely it is not fated that Sikandar Khán should descend from the throne on which he is seated?" The holy Shékh Jíú said, "Yes, it is even so." The Sultán awoke from his dream greatly alarmed, and told Yakúb, entitled Dariá Khán, what had happened, and said,

* Who probably apprehended that they would be supplanted by the king's personal favourites.

† Ráná of Múnká. The "Tab. Akbarí" calls him Rájah of the jungles of Chítór; it says the retreat of the Gujarát army was cut off, and that more than 1,700 fell.

"I am perfectly certain that Bahádar Khán is coming, and that there will be war between him and me." The writer of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" says that he was told of the dream by Yúsaf, the son of Latíf-ullah, who got the story from Daria Khán himself.* The King went out to play *chaugán*, and when the first watch of the day was passed, he returned to his palace and took his repast, and then slept. Everyone went to his own home. Sáíd Jalál-ud-dín Manowar-ul-Mulk once said to me, "I and my brother Sáíd Burhán-ud-dín were standing in the *bázár* when the Sultán passed by, returning from *chaugán*. Every soul, male and female, came out of the houses and of the shops to gaze on the Sultán's beauty. The very angels of heaven would have been surprised and astonished at the Sultán's beauty."

After a while, the traitor 'Imád-ul-Mulk, with his head and ears wrapped up, and followed by forty or fifty fierce horsemen, went to the palace. When he passed through the *bázár* someone exclaimed, "It is but sixteen days† to-day since we hailed the Sultán's accession, and now in a few minutes the kingdom will pass away from him. Nor is he aware that the angel of death, in the guise of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, is on his way to his palace to take away his life."

Only a short time elapsed when an outcry arose that 'Imád-ul-Mulk had killed the Sultán.‡ As the news spread dis-

* The various texts differ extremely as to what immediately follows. The version of the lithographed text has been mainly followed; indeed, the variation is not so much as regards the sense, but only as to the wording of the narrative.

† "Sixteen days." One month and sixteen days is meant, apparently.

‡ The story as above given in the text (which is abstracted in the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí") seems to be an imperfect recital of the facts. According to the accounts both of Firishtah and of the "Tab. Akbarí," two attempts were made by 'Imád-ul-Mulk on the king's life on two different days. Perhaps this may have been the original story of the text also, for it is evidently corrupt at this point. According to Firishtah, the king went out tiger-hunting one day, and 'Imád-ul-Mulk took out a party, intending to fall upon him as he was passing through the *bázár* on his way back, but failed to fall in with him. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that the attack was attempted, but that 'Imád-ul-Mulk missed the king's party. This work adds that the Sultán was immediately warned and told of what had been intended, but that he was of such a simple nature (*sádat rúh*) that he would not believe

turbance and alarm pervaded the city, as if the Day of Resurrection had arrived; and all the nobles and *wazírs* went about, some lamenting and some weeping and saying, "Oh God, what has happened! What is this calamity which has so suddenly come upon us!" It may be said that every trace of peace and tranquillity was washed away from the throne of Gujarát by his blood, for he was the first of the kings of Gujarát who was slain, and from him to Sultán Muzaffar, son of Mahmúd II., all perished by violent deaths, and 'Imád-ul-Mulk has therefore been called I'mád-ul-Mulk.*

It is said that when 'Imád-ul-Mulk entered the palace and came to the door of the royal chamber he found two or three men sitting outside; one was Sáíd 'A'lim, son of Ahmad Bhakarí, grandson of Sháh 'A'lam bin Kutb-ul-Kutáb, and the other Malik Bairám, son of Mas'úd, who were playing at chess. Malik Soundhá,† the door-keeper, stood holding the corner of the curtain, and Malik Pír, the groom of the chamber, was chafing‡ the feet of the king who was lying asleep. There was no one else there. When 'Imád-ul-Mulk attempted to enter the chamber, Soundhá the door-keeper said the Sultán was asleep. He could not say more, for 'Imád-ul-Mulk had entire control of all the palace.§ That villainous slave gave no reply to Soundhá, but entered the royal apartment, taking Malik

what he was told, and said, "'Imád-ul-Mulk is quite incapable of such an act; people are always trying to make mischief between me and my father's nobles." Otherwise these authorities corroborate the story of the text, and both allude to the dream, and say that it became publicly known, and that the Sultán was greatly depressed by it. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" adds nothing to these particulars, but says that a great many of the Gujarát nobles were privy to the plot.

* اعماد الملك "ruin of the kingdom"; instead of عماد الملك "support of the kingdom."

† Soundhá. Possibly the same person mentioned as the subject of Muzaffar's clemency. See p. 288.

‡ "Chafing," or, rather, "*pressing* the feet." A practice which is a species of shampooing, and is supposed to tend to sleep and rest.

§ چراکہ حل و عقد در اینخانہ تمام بدست او بودہ است Literally, "for the loosing and the binding in that house was placed entirely in his hands." This expression—the loosing and the binding (exactly the well-known scriptural phrase)—is repeatedly used in the present work to express the delegation of full and complete authority.

Bahádar with him. Seizing Bahádar's hand he said, "Have you seen that Portuguese mirror which has been procured for the Sultán?" This mirror had been hung at the foot of the king's bed with the object of reflecting the lamps when they were lighted, and was a beautiful thing. The villain Bahádar said, "No, I have not seen it," on which 'Imád-ul-Mulk led him up to the bed. Bahádar began to look about for a moment, when that wretch ('Imád-ul-Mulk) said, "What are you looking at? Strike!" Bahádar drew his sword. Just then the Sultán awoke from sleep, and said, "What is the matter, and what are these fellows doing here?" The traitor struck at that king of noble presence and cut him in two. The villain then killed Malik Pír Muhamad with one blow, and in this fashion, and with his naked sword dripping with blood, went out with 'Imád-ul-Mulk. When Sáíd 'A'lim-ud-dín saw this he drew his sword and confronted Bahádar. 'Imád-ul-Mulk cried out, "Sáíd, don't be a traitor." The Sáíd replied, "Wretch, it is you who are the traitor, for you have slain your sovereign." He made a cut at Malik Bahádar with his sword, which fell upon his head-piece, and the sword broke. But he was quick, and with his broken sword he wounded the Malik slightly in the head. The companions of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, however, quickly despatched him and Malik Bairám. This murder was committed on the 14th Sha'bán, A.H. 932 (26th May, A.D. 1526); and through the very *bázár* along which he had so recently passed with his guards in all his pomp and pride, the mutilated corpse of the Sultán was carried upon a short bedstead, and with the feet hanging down, to the village of Hálól, about two *kós** from Chámpánír, where it was committed to the dust. Two short hours had not passed since he was playing *chaugán*, when all the people crowded round to gaze on him and when everyone obeyed his slightest order.

* The MSS. have here "ten *kós*," but in other places the distance is given as two *kós* and three *kós*. Major Miles calls it (*Bombay Asiatic Researches*) four miles. ده "ten," is, therefore, probably a misreading for دو "two."

Now, there were not forty persons present at his burial, to say the prayers and perform the rites due to a deceased Musulmán, so frightened were the people of that evil traitor.

After the murder of Sikandar* the traitor went to the house of Sultán Muzaffar and brought out his son Nasír Khán, who was a child of five or six years of age. 'Imád-ul-Mulk's followers supported him, and putting this child by his side he placed him on the throne, and gave him the name of Mahmúd Sháh; the whole of the nobles and officers came over to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and they and all the nobles and soldiers and attendants then came and made their obeisances. But there were three *amírs* who kept aloof and did not salute him. One was Khudáwand Khán Masnad 'Alí, who was the *wazír* of Sultán Muzaffar, and was retained in office by his successor Sikandar; the second was Majlis-i-Sámí Fatteh Khán Badhú, Prince of Sind, son-in-law of Sultán Muzaffar, whose wife was the full sister of Sikandar; the third was Táj Khán Narpálí.†

It is reported on good authority in Gujarát, that on the day Sultán Sikandar ascended the throne, 'Imád-ul-Mulk, whose name was Khush-Kadam, and who was the purchased slave of Bíbí Rání, went to the presence of the new king, staff in hand, to make his obeisance as *wazír*; because when Bíbí Rání, the mother of Sultán Sikandar, died, she placed her son's hand in his hand, and from that time he looked forward to being *wazír* when Sikandar became king. Accordingly, when on Sikandar's accession the chief merchants of the city came to offer their congratulations, at the close of the interview 'Imád-ul-Mulk suggested to the Sultán that some robes and honours ought to be given to them. The Sultán said, "Tell Khudáwand Khán," whose name was Hájí Muhamad, and who had

* The expression in the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" is stronger, and implies "the very instant of Sikandar's death."

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," Táj Khán at once collected his adherents, and, rising in arms, marched to meet Bahádar Khán; but this probably took place at a somewhat later stage of the affair.

been chief *wazír* to the late king, "to give what is suitable and proper to each man." When 'Imád-ul-Mulk heard this order the fire of jealousy was kindled in his slavish wicked breast, but he said nothing then. Khudáwand Khán was sent for, and, coming in answer to the summons, took his stand outside the Sultán's private apartment. 'Imád-ul-Mulk saw, but refrained from taking any notice of him. Contrary to usage, Khudáwand Khán remained standing there for some time, till one of the Sultán's attendants told the Sultán that the Khán was waiting outside. The Sultán ordered him to be called in, and asked 'Imád-ul-Mulk why he had not been told before. 'Imád-ul-Mulk then stepped forward and professed that he was not aware of the Khán's arrival, and in a loud voice and courteous tone cried out, "Let Khán Jíú come." So Khudáwand Khán entered, and placed his head at the feet of the Sultán, shedding tears. The Sultán also wept, and embracing the Khán, he said, "The office of minister is continued to you as it was before. May it be blessed to you." The Khán represented that he was old and wished to retire, so that he might go into seclusion and give himself up to praying for the Sultán's welfare. The Sultán replied that there was no one else fit for the office, and he caused the robe of office to be brought and placed upon him. This inflamed still more the jealousy of 'Imád-ul-Mulk.

It is related that some days afterwards 'Imád-ul-Mulk, without permission of the Sultán, and without the approval of Khudáwand Khán, called before him the eunuch who was *kótwál* of Ahmadábád, and gave him the title of Muhib-ul-Mulk, with an increase of his allowances. He then took him before the Sultán and said, "This eunuch performs good service, therefore he has been honoured with the title of Muhib-ul-Mulk and his allowances have been increased; he hopes for your Majesty's confirmation of this measure." The Sultán replied that he was himself not a minor, but of full age and discretion, and whoever had conferred a title

without his command had acted improperly. Applications for titles and honours must be made to Khudáwand Khán, for he was the prime minister of the kingdom, and if anyone else interfered in the business no notice should be taken of it. So the Sultán refused his assent and rejected the application.*

As that slave ('Imád-ul-Mulk) was mutinously disposed, and as he had the army with him, Khudáwand Khán deemed it politic to advise that the title should be granted to please 'Imád-ul-Mulk, with an increase of allowances at some other time. The Sultán kept silence, which is said to be half consent. That infamous slave ('Imád-ul-Mulk) went out from that interview greatly enraged, and from that time took to plotting against the Sultán and to preparing his destruction. Those nobles and soldiers who were in league with him he kept ready and prepared, and those who had but little regard for him he endeavoured to win over by kindness and generosity. It is said that he would invite them one by one to his house and would inquire into their affairs, asking how many children they had, and when the number was told him he would ask if they (the children) were married or not, and would inquire into the pecuniary affairs. If anyone represented his want of means, he would offer a loan, and tell him to do the best he could for his children.† In this way he lent money to individuals, and took written acknowledgments from them, which he afterwards tore up in their presence. By these means he gained over many men and bound them closely to him. Sultán Sikandar was heedless of these things, and was so exultant and so rejoiced in the pride of his youth and glory of his state and authority, that all his days were like the days of the *'I'd* and his nights like the night of

* As has been said already, this *kótwál* was an excellent public servant, and later on received the title of Khán Jahán from Bahádar Sháh. The objection entertained by the Sultán was not as to the proposition itself, but as to the manner of making it.

† *I.e.* in preparing the marriage of his children, always a serious and expensive affair in Muhamadan and, indeed, even in Hindú households.

*Barát.** Every day something new was devised. He collected together every means of pleasure which it is possible to conceive. Amongst other things he had a concubine, called Nazuk Bahr, to whom he was much attached; it is said that all the women in Gujarát at that time were unanimous in agreeing that never before in all the palaces of all the kings of Gujarát, indeed nowhere in Gujarát, had there been seen any woman as beautiful as Nazuk Bahr, or one so pleasant in manner, or so well behaved; or, indeed, anyone so pleasant-spoken as Sultán Sikandar himself. After his murder, Nazuk Bahr passed into the female apartments of Sultán Bahádar, and he also became very fond of her. After the capture of Mandú by Sultán Bahádar, and when he had got the whole land of Málwah into his possession, he one day ordered that all the singing and dancing women of every sort,† either in Mandú or in his camp, should be collected together; and troop after troop of them came decked out and arrayed to the number of thousands of every class and nationality; many of them were beautiful, some remarkably lovely. The Sultán called them up one by one, gave them each a present, and dismissed them. There was present one, Shujá'a Khán, an intimate friend and companion of the Sultán, who quoted some verses,‡ and asked the Sultán if none of the arrows of their beauty had reached his heart. The Sultán replied, "Ah! Shujá'a Khán, I have in my palace a woman so lovely that the sun and moon pale before the glory of her beauty. Perhaps some day I may be able to show her to you." A few days after this Sultán Bahádar was drunk, and took offence at something that Nazuk Bahr did, to such a degree that he drew his sword and cut her in two. Having done this, he remembered his promise to

* *Shab-i-barát.* A Muhamadan festival held on the eve of the 14th Sha'bán, on which occasion the night is spent in prayers and feastings, illuminations, and fireworks. In India, prayers are offered up for the souls of deceased ancestors on that occasion.

† The names of the various classes of musicians, singers, and dancers, are all detailed in the text, but are of no interest.

‡ These verses are given, but are not reproduced.

Shujá'a Khán, so he wrapped the corpse in a coverlet and sent for Shujá'a Khán. When he came he said to him, "I once promised to show you a concubine of mine more beautiful than the sun; to-day she has died. I cannot show you her in life, but look on her in death, and see how lovely she was." On this he drew aside the coverlet from off her face, and Shujá'a Khán gazed on her beauty; but when he saw also the blood which had trickled round her, he threw himself on the ground and cried, "Oh, what has happened! what calamity is this!" The Sultán also, in deep repentance, cast himself upon the ground, and beat his head against the earth; but it was of no avail.

When Sultán Sikandar ascended the throne all the Säíds and holy men came to congratulate him, excepting only Shékh Badah, the son of Shékh Jíú, who was at that time the chief of the Bukhárí Säíds of Batóh, who would not come because of a quarrel with the Sultán. The reason of the quarrel was as follows: Shortly after Sultán Bahádar had left Gujarát, Shékh Jíú died, and Sultán Sikandar said, "The Saint is dead and his disciple is a wanderer."* Shékh Badah said in reply, "No, the Saint is not really dead,† nor is his disciple a wanderer. Your kingdom is like a vapour or a bubble, and has neither firmness nor permanence." On hearing this, the Sultán got more angry still, and resumed‡ the town of Batóh, which had always formed part of the *jágír* allowed to the chief of the Säíds of Batóh, and made it over to Säíd Muhamad, who was one of the sons of Sháh 'A'lam; but he declined to accept it, and never would take possession of it.§ In the end the

* The Gujarátí original is given, "*Pír müá, murid jogí.*" *Jógí* is rendered as *awárah* in the Persian.

† Meaning that the Saint's spirit survived, and his prophesies.

‡ "Resumed" is here used in its technical sense of "confiscated." To have the town in the centre of his *jágír* taken away and given to someone else was doubtless a great annoyance and inconvenience to the Saint. Säíd Muhamad was probably a *grandson* of the Säíd 'A'lam.

§ The two anecdotes above are only given in a condensed form, and a third, of a somewhat indelicate nature, with certain verses written by a local

meaning of the speech became manifest; for after a reign of one month and sixteen days,* the traitor 'Imád-ul-Mulk slew the Sultán.

poet on the occasion, are omitted, as they are only intended to illustrate at once the Sultán's personal beauty and his want of royal dignity.

* Some MSS. and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" make it two months and sixteen days, but the dates given show it was clearly one month and sixteen days, *i.e.* from the 28th of Jumádi-ul-ákhir to the 14th Sha'bán.

CHAPTER XI.

REIGN OF MAHMÚD SHÁH II.

On the day of his accession Nasír Khán received the title of Mahmúd Sháh. 'Imád-ul-Mulk bestowed robes and horses and titles* upon the nobles and soldiers, but he did not confer the *jágír*, which is the concomitant of a title, upon which people said, "A title without a *jágír* is a disgrace." The result was that several of the *amírs* and soldiers were deeply offended at this shabby behaviour, and thirsted for the blood of 'Imád-ul-Mulk; but without a leader they could do nothing, and each one went to his own home or *jágír*.

When all the affairs of the kingdom were in confusion, as a last resource 'Imád-ul-Mulk wrote to 'Imád-ul-Mulk I'lichpúrí, stating that if he would show his friendship by coming to Nandarbár and Sultánpúr, he should receive in recompense a specified sum of money. He wrote in the same style to Ráná Sánká, and he also conciliated the *zamíndárs* of the country round. He even sent to Bábar Pádsháh soliciting assistance.†

* According to Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí," 180 or 181 titles were thus bestowed in one day.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," 'Imád-ul-Mulk wrote to "Nizám-ul-Mulk Dakhiní," and says that the "Rájah of Pál" was also summoned, and marched as far as the neighbourhood of Chámpánír. Firishtah says the same thing, but adds that the Dakhiní King, to whom he sent a large sum of money (the "Tab. Akbarí" confirms this), took the money, and did nothing. The Rájah of Pál was told to bar the road by Chámpánír against Bahádar.

The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" has written thus:—"At that time I was at the town of Bar-nagar, and I wrote from thence to Táj Khán, who was at Dhandúkah, informing him that 'Imád-ul-Mulk had sought the support of Bábar Pádsháh,* and that this act would transfer the throne from the reigning dynasty of Gujarát, and praying him to think deeply over the matter. I wrote also to Bahádar Khán to the same effect, and sent the letter by swift runners."

Bahádar Khán was at that time proceeding to Jónpúr upon the invitation of the nobles and chiefs of that country, having retired, without taking leave, from the court of Sultán Ibráhím, who was then opposing the Emperor Bábar at Pánípat. He started for Jónpúr and halted at Bághpath.† There he was waited upon by Páíndah Khán Afghán, who said that he was sent by all the nobles of the country of Jónpúr, to say that they recognised Bahádar Khán as their king, and were

* The "Tab. Akbarí" states that he offered Bábar the port of Díp and a *kror* of *tankahs* if he would send one of his armies to co-operate with him. Firishtah says much the same thing, except that he omits the offer of the port; and what was asked was that he should send a force down the Indús to land at Díú. Firishtah expressly says that this letter never reached Bábar, for the Rájah of Dúngarpúr intercepted it; and the "Tab Akbarí" practically confirms this story, and says the Thánádár of Dúngarpúr informed Táj Khán of the purport of this communication.

† *Bághpath* (the Vyághra-prastha or "tiger-town" of the Mahábhárata times) is now a small town on the left bank of the Jumna, a little to the N.W. of Dehlí, and now in the Mirat district. The road to Eastern Hindústán from Pánípat crosses the Jumna just above this point; so that it is seen that Bahádar Khán had already moved in the direction of Jónpúr, and had left the high road to Gujarát, which passed through Dehlí. He had probably had informal offers of the throne of Jónpúr, which were now converted into a formal one, of which Páíndah Khán was the bearer. In all probability, therefore, when he first reached Bághpath he was fully inclined to go to Jónpúr, but before he decided he received the news of his father's death; and the "Tab. Akbarí" says that as soon as he heard the latter news he declined to listen to Páíndah Khán's urgent solicitation, and went off towards Ahmadábád. The "Tab. Akbarí" gives also the story that Bahádar determined to be guided by his horse, and threw his reins on its head that it might choose its own direction; but the "Tab. Akbarí" gives this only as a story, which the author evidently does not believe. Firishtah adopts it as history. Although Bahádar did not then apparently know of his brother's murder, he evidently had so strong a party in Gujarát that it was worth his while to try for the rich prize which the throne of that country afforded, and he had evidently little compunction as to disputing his brother's title.

anxiously awaiting his arrival; and that he, Páíndah Khán had been directed to state the facts and to conduct the Prince to Jónpúr without delay.

Prince Bahádar Khán was about to comply with this request, and go to Jónpúr, when he received a letter from Khurram Khán, informing him of the death of Sultán Muzaffar and the succession of Sultán Sikandar. The letter went on to say that the nobles and the army were desirous of his presence, and they hoped that he would return speedily, as it was certain that the throne would come to him, for the army and people were dissatisfied with Sultán Sikandar. On receiving this letter he rested where he was for three days to perform the rites of mourning for his father. On the fourth day he dismissed Páíndah Khán, and set off with all speed for Gujarát.

Note to Chapter XI.

The Hyderábád MS. inserts, just where this chapter closes, a passage which appears in no other version of the text. The historic relation of the actual facts is no doubt that already given, but it is *possible* that the following story may have been added by the author. It is no doubt written in the gossiping style in which he often indulges, and also deals with the miraculous intervention of Saints and *darwéshes* much after his accustomed manner; but in any case it is worth preserving, because it gives another instance of a curious mode of incantation, of which, though well known elsewhere in the East, no example has been hitherto quoted from India. Moreover, if it have any authority at all, the passage evidently preserves a popular tale invented to account for the sudden and *à propos* appearance of Bahádar Khán on the scene immediately after his brother's death, for which it is hardly possible

to doubt he had been in some way prepared, through the intelligence transmitted to him by the Säíds of Batóh and others of his sympathisers in Gujarát. The substance of the passage is, therefore, here reproduced, but only as a note.

"The manner in which Bahádar Khán was informed of the death of Sultán Muzaffar, and of the succession of Sultán Sikandar was as follows:—After Bahádar Khán had, on account of the envy and hatred borne towards him by Sikandar Khán, taken leave of his holy teacher and left Gujarát, he went to I'dar, and from I'dar to the fort of Chítór, where wonderful events and strange calamities overtook him. The Sultan Muzaffar heard of his arrival at Chítór, but of what happened to him after he left Chítór, none of his friends among the nobles of Gujarát had any intelligence, nor did they know whither he had gone.

"On taking leave of Ráná Sánká, however, the Prince went to Dehlí and visited the shrines of the saints in that city, and then went on to Pánípat and waited on Sultán Ibráhím Lódí. One day there was a slight skirmish with the Mughals of the Emperor Bábar's force, and the latter, having captured a party of Afgháns, were carrying them off the battlefield with their hands bound and tent-ropes round their necks. Though the Sultán himself was present, none of his warriors dared to attempt the release of those forlorn wretches.

"But Prince Bahádar, with his friends, raising their swords for a standard, dashed upon that troop of Mughals, plied sword and dagger as though they were executioners, and in the end the victors were defeated, and the Afghán prisoners were released. Victory remained with Sultán Ibráhím.

"The nobles who saw the Prince's gallantry took counsel together, and said that, as they were discontented with Sultán Ibráhím, it would be better to poison him, and to elevate Prince Bahádar to the throne of Dehlí in his place. Sultán Ibráhím was made aware of his nobles' design, and Prince

Bahádar lost favour in his eyes, and the latter, perceiving the Sultán's estrangement, went off towards Dehlí without taking leave.

"On the night before he reached Pánípat, the holy Saint, Bu-Ali Kalandar, known as Sharf-ud-dín Pánípatí, appeared in a dream to the guardians of his tomb, and told them that the King of Gujarát, accompanied by his friends, would, the next morning, pass by on foot, and he desired that they would take a good horse and a sword, and stand in the way to meet him; and when he arrived they were to arm him with the sword, to mount him on the horse, and to bring him to the Saint's tomb, where what was decreed would be revealed.

"When the guardian of the tomb awoke he passed the remainder of the night in watching, and after morning prayer he went to the stable and took a horse, than which there was none better in the stable, and a suitable saddle and bridle, and an excellent sword out of the armoury, and went out and sat on the roadside, and questioned every passer-by; but, though he waited till mid-day prayer, he found no one who answered the description; and he was about to go back when a party of young men approached, and he determined to wait for them. When they drew near, the guardian of the tomb was convinced by their appearance that the King of Gujarát was among them; so, running forward, he said, 'Which of you is the King of Gujarát?' Not knowing but that he might have some hostile motive for inquiry, they all answered in the negative. But he said, 'Do not deny it. Last night the holy saint, Sharf-ud-dín Pánípatí, appeared to me in a dream, and sent me out to meet you, saying that "the King of Gujarát and his friends would pass by on foot," and that I was to furnish him with a horse, saddle, and bridle, and that I was to bring him to his tomb. This I have done. Which among you is known as King of Gujarát?' Bahádar Khán then made himself known, and accompanied the guardian; and

after visiting the tomb was taken to an apartment near it, where he was received with all hospitality. He remained there two or three days, and then removed to a garden known as the 'Hazrat Shékh's garden,' and remained there several days more.

"When 'Imád-ul-Mulk had killed Sultán Sikandar and raised Prince Nasír Khán to the throne, Táj Khán deserted from 'Imád-ul-Mulk by night, and went into hiding; and certain of the worthier nobles came to him by night, and they took counsel together. They discussed the expediency of sending for Bahádar Khán, but no one knew where he had gone after leaving Chítór. At last one of those present said: 'On the other side of the Sabarmatí, and in such-and-such a hamlet, there is a Sáíd, a holy man, and acquainted with magic, who has communications with fairies; and I have heard that he has great authority over the fairies, so that he can get an answer to a letter from any country, however distant it may be.' His friends all said that nothing could be better, if this were true, and so they determined to visit him. Accordingly Táj Khán Nirpálí, Khudáwand Khán, and the Prince Fateh Khán of Sind, and others, went to the house of that holy man. When they told him who was waiting, he came out and inquired their object. They explained to him that they were well-wishers of Bahádar Khán, and wanted news of him. He told them that if they would bring a letter to Bahádar Khán, he would get them an answer, wherever the Prince might be. They went away delighted, and the next day these nobles, having prepared a letter giving all the news for Bahádar Khán, brought it in the evening to the holy man's house. He received them, and produced a little girl of seven or eight years of age, and putting a mirror before her, began to pray to the Almighty. He also hung the letter beneath her ear, having written on it, 'Please write a full statement in answer to this letter, and cast it on the ground, that the messenger who takes this may bring back your answer to us who

anxiously await it.' When the Shékh began to pray, the army of the fairies, and eventually the king of the fairies, appeared in the mirror. The little girl said to the Shékh: 'The king of the fairies has come with his army, and has ascended his throne, and wants to know why you have sent for him.' The Shékh replied: 'Give him my compliments, and say that, as he knows everything that is passing everywhere, can he tell me where Prince Bahádar Khán is.' The king of the fairies answered: 'When I came to you I saw Bahádar Khán in a garden at Pánípat. He had just taken his meal, and was going to rest.' The Shékh then said: 'Be good enough to send a couple of messengers to the Prince with the letter which is at the little girl's ear, and tell them to bring an immediate answer.' The king of the fairies gave the order asked, and instantly the letter disappeared from the little girl's ear; and the Saint proceeded to hold the nobles in conversation.

"Meanwhile Prince Bahádar was getting anxious, because ever since he left Gujarát he had had no news thence. Thus considering, he fell asleep. The fairy who brought the letter put it under his pillow, in such a manner that when he turned over on his side the roll of paper might fall into his hand. The Prince opened his eyes and saw it, and inquired of his servants, but no one admitted that they had placed it there. As they were silent, he asked his friends if they had placed it there. They also denied it; but a light was brought, and he opened his letter, and then he found that it came from Gujarát, though no messenger was apparent. He perceived that he was told to throw the answer on the ground; that he was also to write and tell them when he arrived at Jalór, and they would then come to meet him. Bahádar Khán accordingly wrote out his plans on a piece of paper, and, folding it up, threw it on the ground; and though they watched it very closely, it nevertheless disappeared from their sight, and they could not tell how this happened.

"Táj Khán and the other nobles were sitting with the Shékh when the letter appeared at the little girl's ear; and the Shékh took it and gave it to the nobles. They returned a hundred thousand thanks for the fulfilment of their wishes, and, departing, made all preparation for the reception of Bahádar Khán in royal pomp and state. Meanwhile Bahádar Khán set out for Gujarát."

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF BAHÁDAR SHÁH.

When Bahádar Khán reached Chítór* he was met by 'Alí Sher, son of Mu'ín-ud-dín Khán Afghán, who had left Gujarát to meet him after the murder of Sikandar Sháh. This messenger informed the Prince in detail of the murder of Sikandar, the treachery of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and the raising of Nasír Khán to the throne. The Prince said he would impale the traitor when he reached Muhamadábád, and he set forth on his journey. He left Prince Chánd Khán, who was with him, at Chítór, but he carried with him Ibráhím Khán, the brother of Chánd Khán.† He continued his journey to Dúngarpúr,‡ and upon hearing of his arrival there Táj Khán left Dhandúkah to wait upon him. Just at that time Prince Latíf

* The "Tárikh-i-Alfí" says distinctly that he was received at Chítór in a friendly manner by Ráná Sánká.

† From what the "Tab. Akbarí" says, Chánd Khán, though submitting to Bahádar, preferred remaining where he was to giving him any active assistance. Ibráhím Khán is expressly said, in the "Tab. Akbarí," to have enrolled himself in Bahádar's service. Chánd Khán, as Firishtah states, eventually went to Málwah, where he made mischief, as will appear in the sequel.

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," U'dí Singh, Rájah of Pál, also came in to Bahádar at Chítór. U'dí Singh seems to have been Rájah of Dúngarpúr, and must have been the person who intercepted the letter to the Emperor Bábar. If he was the "Rájah of Pál" to whom 'Imád-ul-Mulk wrote, he, too, must have really been only nominally obedient to him. It is possible he may have moved to Chámpánír, to get credit with 'Imád-ul-Mulk, while his *locum tenens* in Dúngarpúr intercepted the letter and divulged its contents. In this way he would have been able to make terms with either party.

Khán came to the vicinity of Dhandúkah,* and sent a message to Táj Khán soliciting his support, and promising to place the administration of all the affairs of Gujarát in his hands. Táj Khán, in reply, sent a messenger, saying that he had already allied himself with Bahádar Khán, and could do nothing inconsistent with the part he had taken. He also advised Latíf Khán to withdraw into retirement.

'Imád-ul-Mulk and his supporters, when they heard of the approach of Bahádar Khán and the support given to him by the nobles, were much alarmed. 'Imád-ul-Mulk sent 'Azd-ul-Mulk Abrás, with six hundred horses from the royal stables, and fifty elephants, to occupy Morásah, and prevent anyone from going to Bahádar Khán.† At this time Rizá-ul-Mulk and Khurram Khán departed from Muhamadábád with the intention of joining Bahádar Khán. The Prince also moved out on his way to Kapranj, otherwise called Mahmúdnagar. There he was waited upon by several of his friends, 'Azim son of Pír, Malik Yúsuf son of Lutfulláh, Rájí Muhamad son of Farid, Malik Mas'úd, and several others of similar positions, who had fled and concealed themselves through fear of 'Imád-ul-Mulk. Bahádar Khán went on from thence to Morásah, and afterwards to Harsól and Sangargáon. At this stage he was joined by Khurram Khán, Rizá-ul-Mulk, and several other of the old Muzaffar Sháhí nobles. Next day he went on to the city of Nahrwálah.

The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar-Sháhí" writes thus:— On the 26th‡ of the month of Ramazán, A.H. 932 (August

* Firishtah says Latíf Khán's object was to join his cousin, Fateh Khán. One MS. of the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" says Táj Khán sent Latíf Khán a good sum of money.

† Both the "Tab. Akbarí" and the "Táríkh-i-Alfí" say that on reaching within a march of Morásah, Bahádar's forces were so swelled that 'Azd-ul-Mulk was alarmed, and fled without fighting. Bahádar occupied Morásah the next day.

‡ Muzaffar Sháh died, as has been seen, on the 22nd of Jumádi-ul-ákhir, 932 A.H. Sikandar probably formally ascended the throne on the 28th or 29th of the same month at Muhamadábád, and was murdered there on the 14th Sha'bán of that year. Bahádar, therefore, entered Nahrwálah just thirty-two days after that event. Bábar's first fight with the Afgháns took

1526), Prince Bahádar received at Nahrwálah the homage of Táj Khán,* Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, Sa'íd-ul-Mulk, and the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar-Sháhí," and others, great and small, from the city of Ahmadábád. From Nahrwálah he went on, having assumed royal pomp and state, towards Ahmadábád, which city he entered by the Kálúpúrah gate. First he paid a visit to the mausoleum of his ancestors, Sultáns Muhamad Sháh, Ahmad Sháh, and Kutb-ud-dín, in Mánik Chók, and afterwards went to the royal palace called Bhadar. On the night of the 27th all the nobles met at the palace, and each one being seated in the proper place assigned to him according to the regulations of the time of Sultán Muzaffar, they were feasted; and everyone returned thanks to God on account of the safety and arrival of the new Sultán. . . .

The city of Ahmadábád began again to prosper, and the entire country of Gujarát, which had been left in darkness by the setting of the sun of government, began again to flourish on the rising of this sun of the kingdom, Bahádar Sháh; and every dispute vanished from the hearts of all men.

When he heard of this, 'Imád-ul-Mulk advanced to his supporters one year's allowances from the royal treasury, and made them swear on the Kurán that they would not desert Mahmúd Sháh. The nobles took the money, but went quietly out of the city and joined Bahádar Khán, the favourite of Fortune. Among them, Bahá-ul-Mulk and Dáwar-ul-Mulk,

place at Siálkót on the 1st of Rabí'-ul-awal, 932; and Ibráhím's final defeat occurred on the 10th of Rajab following. Bahádar would have been present with the Afghán army after the first, and have quelled it before the last of these two events. As he did not hear of his father's death till he reached Bághpath, he must have been there, probably, some time towards the latter part of Rajab or early in Sha'bán. There can be little doubt that as soon as he heard of his father's death he started for Gujarát, with the intention of putting forward his own claims to the throne. Sikandar's death was, no doubt, opportune in his interests; so much so that 'Imád-ul-Mulk is represented as surprised that Bahádar resented it. Still, there is no reason to accuse him of being privy to it, though he was no doubt ready, backed by the interest of the Bukháriat Sáids and a powerful party among the nobles, to attack his brother's throne.

* Táj Khán is called, in the "Táríkh-i-Alfí," Khán 'A'zím. According to Firishtah, Bahádar had forwarded to him for publication a moderately-worded manifesto.

who were sworn allies of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and accessories in the murder of Sultán Sikandar, waited on the Sultán and made their submission. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádarí" says that on the morning of the *'I'd** he received an order to equip and decorate all the elephants, and bring them to the *darbár*. The Sultán came forth in royal array, and took his seat in the hall called Sankár-mandap, the doors and walls of which were all gilded. Robes and favours were bestowed upon Táj Khán and the court nobles according to their respective rank. On that day thirty-two persons received titles according to the following detail†:—

Khurram Khán, son of Sikandar Khán, was made Khán Khánán; Nizám Khán was made Mubáriz-ul-Mulk; the son of Shams Khán was made Mu'íd-ul-Mulk; Malik Táj Jamál was made Wajíh-ul-Mulk; Malik La'zi was created Lál Khán; his son, Kutb Khán, was made Ikbál Khán; Malik Badr-ud-dín was made Módúd-ul-Mulk; the son of the Khán Khánán was created Nizám Khán; Malik Shark Nasrat-ul-Mulk received the title of Hasan Khán; Malik Mustafa was created Sarandáz Khán; Malik Muzaffar was made Asad Khán; his son was entitled Sháistah Khán; Suliman, the son of Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, was created Manówar Khán; Malik Sarandáz, son of Malik Toghlak, was made Ajhdar-ul-Mulk; the son of Malik Latíf Bariwál was made Sharzah Khán; Shams-ul-Mulk was made Dariá Khán; Chánd of Bhandérí was created Hajhbar-ul-Mulk; Kombhá Gohíl was entitled Ráí Ráián; Safdar Khán was created 'A'lam Khán; Sa'íd-ul-Mulk was made Shams Khán; Bahá-ul-Mulk was entitled 'Ulugh Khán; Mujáhid Khán, Mujáhid-ul-Mulk; Násir-ul-Mulk was created Kutlagh Khán; his son was entitled Násir-ul-Mulk; Módúd-

* *'I'd-ul-fitr*, the 1st of Shawál (see note, p. 203), that being a festival on which it was usual for the Sultán to go in procession to the *'I'dgáh* outside the city, and in royal state.

† These names differ greatly, and no MS. makes up quite the full tale of thirty-two; but they are given to show the mode in which, and the class of persons on whom, these titles were conferred. Apparently few of the holders of high office under Muzaffar were thus rewarded by Bahádar.

ul-Mulk was made Toghlak Khán; his son was created Maná Khán; Malik Toghlak Fúládí, Fúlád Khán; Malik Räiat, son of Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, was created Nasír Khán; Abhu, son of Ajhdar-ul-Mulk, was made Ajhdar Khán; Shams, son of Kutlagh Khán, was entitled Husén Khán; and Malik Sáhib, son of Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, was created Habíb Khán.

After bestowing these titles, he mounted an elephant and went with great state to the *'Idgáh*, amid the rejoicings and acclamations of the people. On the 2nd Shawál he went to the palace of Ghatmandól. From thence he proceeded to Mahmúdábád. There Mu'azim Khán and several others came to do homage. From thence, in consequence of the floods in the river Shedhí, he halted at the village of Bhasúj, and went next to the town of Nariád, where he halted two days. Many men came out from Muhamadábád, and those who came after receiving money and treasure from 'Imád-ul-Mulk the Sultán forgave. On the 11th Shawál he started from Nariád, and crossed the Mahindrí at the ford of Khán-púr. 'Imád-ul-Mulk sent 'Azd-ul-Mulk to Baródah, and Muháfiz Khán Bakál-zádah to the village of Dhanéj, in the vain hope that if these two, his chosen and closest friends, separated themselves from him, Sultán Bahádar would seek after them and take no heed to him.

'Imád-ul-Mulk had secretly sent for Prince Latíf Khán, for, as that Prince was clever and of full age, he thought that if war began he would give to Latíf Khán the insignia of sovereignty and oppose Sultán Bahádar; but when Latíf Khán came to Dhanéj, 'Imád-ul-Mulk was bewildered,* and did not know what to do. About the date that Sultán Bahádar reached Mahmúdábád, 'Imád-ul-Mulk paid a visit to Nasír Khán, scowled angrily at him, and went to his home. After the 11th Shawál, 'Imád-ul-Mulk paid no further attention to Nasír Khán, but the controller of the royal palace

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says that Bahádar's prompt advance utterly disconcerted his opponents.

kept that prince under surveillance. It is said that a thousand of 'Imád-ul-Mulk's men assembled at his house, and assured him that if Sultán Bahádar should attempt to wreak his vengeance upon him they would fight for him to the death. But when Sultán Bahádar arrived, two or three hundred persons remained with him, the rest had fled to their homes; those, indeed, who were men of position fled out of the city.

When Sultán Bahádar reached the Mahindrí,* he did not wait till the whole of his army had crossed, but, taking four hundred horse and some elephants which had already got over the river, he pushed on rapidly to the village of Hálól. After paying a visit to the tomb of Sultán Sikandar, he sent Táj Khán on in advance, with three hundred horse, to surround the house of the villain 'Imád-ul-Mulk. When intelligence reached 'Imád-ul-Mulk that Sultán Bahádar was at Hálól, Khwájah Mánik son of Jalál, and Yúsuf son of Mubáriz-ul-Mulk, advised him to take flight, for the Sultán would certainly not suffer him to live. He answered: "How can I fly? naked swords surround me on every side. I cannot move, and there is no place for me to escape to." The blood of Sultán Sikandar so laid hold of him that he could not stir a step. Some say that he exclaimed, "What harm have I done to Sultán Bahádar that I should flee from him? If I had not killed Sultán Sikandar how could Bahádar have become king?"

Táj Khán, with his three hundred horse, galloped up to the house of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, but the traitor fled and hid him-

* The "Tab. Akbarí" is rather fuller here. It says on reaching the Wátrak it was reported that the fords were not impassable. Bahádar himself halted, and sent Táj Khán with a detachment across. Here he was joined by most of the nobles who were residing at Muhamadábád, and then marched to the Mahindrí at Khánpúr (Bankánir). Apparently Táj Khán was sent on to seize this ford. 'Imád-ul-Mulk had sent a force to raise the country about Baródah, so as to keep the Sultán in play; but Bahádar Sháh paid no attention to this, and pushed straight on Muhamadábád Chámpánír. Firishtah confirms these particulars, and adds that heavy rain had rendered Bahádar Sháh's advance difficult, and detained him on the banks of the Sabarmati.

self in the house of Sháh Jíú Sadík, the head keeper of the *díwán*. The people of the city, smarting under the oppression and tyranny they had endured, collected from all quarters and fell upon 'Imád-ul-Mulk's house and ransacked it; women, girls, and women-servants were all carried off. When the Sultán arrived, he went to the house of Masnad-'Alí Khudáwand Khán, the *wazír*, who paid his homage and accompanied the sovereign. On reaching the royal palace, Táj Khán came and reported that 'Imád-ul-Mulk's house had been given up to plunder, but that the traitor himself had not been found, and it was probable that he was in hiding somewhere in the city. The Sultán ordered Kaisar Khán and Kabír-ul-Mulk the *kótwál* to search for and produce him. Half an hour had not elapsed from the Sultán's entering the palace, when Khudáwand Khán's men dragged 'Imád-ul-Mulk to the *darbár*, with hands bound, head and feet bare, and every kind of ignominy. An order was given for his confinement in a cell in the Dil-kushá palace. The Sultán directed Táj Khán to ask the traitor why he had killed Sikandar Khán. When Táj Khán put the question, he answered: "What could I do? Everyone was resolved upon his death, and what was I amongst them?" Táj Khán said: "You were a personal servant of Sultán Sikandar; how could you join with his adversaries?" He made no reply, and all who were present cursed and reviled him.

The Sultán went to the room where Sikandar was killed, and the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" writes thus:—"The Sultán directed me to bring Táj Khán from the Dil-kushá palace. He told over again to Táj Khán the story of his brother's murder, and then, groaning, said: 'Impale this evil-footed slave in front of the *darbár* to-morrow, and cut to pieces Saif-ud-dín and 'Alí, who were the traitor's confederates.' It is said that as they were taking 'Imád-ul-Mulk down to the gibbet, a person told him to repeat the creed. He replied, 'How can I say it? my tongue refuses

the office.' Shame upon the man who could thus act to his benefactor, and slay his master like an enemy! It is very just that in this world such infamy and suffering should fall upon him, and that in the next the tortures and fires of hell should await him!"

On the 16th Shawál 'Imád-ul-Mulk was executed with Saif-ud-dín and 'Alí. On the same day Fateh Mulk, son of Malik Tawakkul, an old Mahmúd Sháhí servant, was created 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and promoted to the office of *'Ariz-i-Mamálik*. In a short time all the wretches who had aided and abetted the murder of Sultán Sikandar were ignominiously executed.* The villain Bahádar,† the murderer of the Sultán, who received on the day of the crime a wound in the head from the hand of Sáíd Burhán-ud-dín, kept concealed for some days, but was also at last discovered and brought up. The Sultán gave orders that his skin should be torn from his body, and his body hung upon a gibbet.

'Azd-ul-Mulk and Muháfiz Khán had fled to the hill country of Pál and joined Latíf Khán, and, having collected the *zamíndárs* of those parts, endeavoured to raise disturbances; but the authority of Sultán Bahádar became more firmly established day by day, and they could effect nothing. The Sultán now opened the hand of bounty, and like a cloud rained down gold and jewels and allowances and favours all around. He was so generous to his people that the nobles and soldiers were unwilling to go to their homes, and remained near him in the hope of sharing in his bounty.

A famine now set in, and the Sultán dispersed his army in detachments. Wherever he himself went he dispensed his charity, and to no one did he give less than a gold *ashrafí*. The small and great of the city lived comfortably, and the

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that three of the assassins were arrested while endeavouring to fly to the Dakhin.

† Bahádar is called Bahá-ul-Mulk in the "Tab. Akbarí." He was wounded by 'Alím-ud-dín, not Burhán-ud-dín, which latter name, however, all the MSS. give in this place.

fame of his generosity soon excelled that of Hátim Tái.*. . . On the 14th Zí-l-ka'dah A.H. 932 (22nd of August 1526), he took his seat on the throne of his ancestors.† The *wazírs* and nobles received splendid robes and dresses, the soldiers received the gift of one year's pay from the treasury, and one hundred and fifty persons were honoured with titles, but for the sake of conciseness their names are not given. After the breaking up of the *darbár* was a grand banquet for the nobles and great personages, and after the conclusion of the banquet everybody received presents, and went away happy and delighted. . . . The office of *wazír* was conferred on Táj Khán.

After a time it became known that 'Azd-ul-Mulk and Muháfiz Khán, having joined Prince Latíf Khán, had gone towards Nandarbár, and were endeavouring to stir up a revolt.‡ Táj Khán received orders to lead an army against them, but he represented that Ghází Khán, son of Ahmad Khán, was the best man for the work. The Sultán said, "The day after my accession the allowances of Ghází Khán were increased twofold, now I double them again." Then Ghází Khán was sent with a large army and elephants to the *súbah* of Nandarbár. After the *'I'd-uz-zóhá,* Shujá'-ul-Mulk, whose name was Rájí Muhamad, fled and joined Prince Latíf Khán in Pál. Táj Khán reported to the Sultán that Shujá'-ul-Mulk had fled with the connivance of Kaisar Khán; and the Sultán said that if this were really so, Kaisar Khán ought to be seized. Táj Khán added, not only Kaisar Khán, but 'Ulugh Khán and Dáwar-ul-Mulk also, for they were all leagued with 'Imád-ul-Mulk in the murder of the Sultán Sikandar, and were in secret

* "Hátim Tái" is the fabulous exemplar of liberality in all Persian literature.

† This formal "coronation" took place at Muhamadábád Chámpánír.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" states that the very day on which Bahádar entered Muhamadábád, Prince Latíf Khán entered the city also—probably to concert measures with 'Imád-ul-Mulk. After remaining concealed for some days, he was recommended by Kaisar Khán and' Ulugh Khán to withdraw and conceal himself. Being helpless, he acceded to their desire, and fled to the hill country of Bóngá.

correspondence with Latíf Khán. When these statements were proved to the Sultán, 'Ulugh Khán, who had been appointed to the expedition against Prince Latíf Khán, was dismissed, and all the three persons were seized and ordered to be beheaded.* This occurred in the year of the King's accession, *i.e.* in A.H. 932.

Some time after, a despatch was received from Ghází Khán, reporting that 'Azd-ul-Mulk, Muháfiz Khán, and Bhím Rájah of Pál, having consulted and combined together, had attacked and plundered a village belonging to Sultánpúr. On hearing this, Ghází Khán marched against them, and a severe action was fought, in which he was victorious. 'Azd-ul-Mulk and Muháfiz Khán took to flight, Rájah Bhím† and his brother were left dead upon the field, and Prince Latíf Khán was wounded and a prisoner. The Sultán sent off Muhíb-ul-Mulk with orders to make all speed and bring the Prince, with the greatest care, to wait on the Sultán. He received his charge, but the Prince's wounds were severe, and he died at the village of Murgh-dirah, where Muhíb-ul-Mulk buried him. After some days his body was removed by order of the Sultán, to the village of Hálól, where it was deposited in a vaulted tomb opposite the sepulchre of Sultán Sikandar. A few days later Prince Nasír Khán also died. Thus three princes perished before the rising power of Sultán Bahádar, and were all interred near each other.

At the time when Kaisar Khán and the other *amírs* were beheaded, intelligence was brought of there being commotions

* Firishtah says that 'Ulugh Khán's innocence was established, and that he was released and his accusers punished. On this point the "Tab. Akbarí" is silent; but it says that Ziá-ul-Mulk (apparently a son of Nasír Khán), who was imprisoned, was ultimately released and pardoned on paying a fine of fifty lakhs of *tankahs*. Kaisar Khán seems certainly (by all accounts) to have been put to death, and probably 'Ulugh Khán too.

† "Ráí Bhím." The "Tab. Akbarí" calls him Ráí Singh; but all accounts seem to agree that the Rájah of Pál was killed in this battle, and another Rájah of Pál, whom Firishtah and the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí" (see next page) call *Ráí* Singh, was killed later on by Táj Khán. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that the defeat of Latíf Khán took place near Sultánpúr.

on the borders of Gujarát, and of Rái Singh, Rájah of Pál, having attacked and plundered the town of Dahód. Consequently the Sultán sent Táj Khán to overrun all the country of Pál. At this time Sharf-ul-Mulk brought back from Mandú the royal servants whom Ikbál Khán had carried there in the time of Sultán Sikandar. Táj Khán marched into the hills of Pál, and, in the course of one month, ravaged all the country of Rái Singh, leaving it a blackened waste, and he razed all the forts of refuge. In this campaign only one soldier of Táj Khán's army, named Muhamad Hasan, was killed; the rest returned unhurt and triumphant.*

On the 15th Rabí'-ul-awal, A.H. 933 (A.D. 1527), Sultán Bahádar went out hunting in the direction of Kambháiat. When he reached that port, Iliás, one of the sons of Malik Aïáz, waited upon the Sultán and reported that his elder brother Ishák, instigated by the *zamíndárs* of Sórath, had broken out in rebellion and ruined his family.† He had marched with five thousand horse from Nawá-nagar to Morbí and from thence to the port of Díú. His design was to get into the island of Díú by stratagem, to remove every Musulmán soldier or merchant there, to plunder all the Musulmán property he found there, whether belonging to the State or to merchants, and to deliver Díú into the hands of the wicked

* According to the story of Firishtah, Táj Khán's army was 100,000 strong, and he refused all offers of accommodation till Rái Singh, driven to desperation, gave battle and was defeated and killed. He adds that Táj Khán was recalled thence, and sent as governor to Kambháiat. The story of the "Tab. Akbarí" agrees, and adds that the Rájah made his overtures of submission through Sharf-ul-Mulk, one of the chief nobles. Rái Singh, it is stated, made his attack on hearing of the execution of Kaisar Khán, apparently because he supposed that that showed disunion in Bahádar Sháh's camp. When plundering Dahód, the Rájah is said to have seized much property belonging to Ziá-ul-Mulk, son of Nasír Khán. The "Tab. Akbarí" further explains that Táj Khán was selected to put the province of Kambháiat in order, the Sultán having, during his visit there, received many complaints of misgovernment. Rái Singh's son afterwards came in and submitted, and was honoured with a dress (*khil'at*).

† Possibly this may be the part of his work to which the author refers when he says that he proposes to describe how all the sons of Malik Aïáz were put to death by Bahádar, at the instigation of Ráni Khán. No other mention of their fate occurs, except in connection with these events. See note, p. 235.

infidels.* On hearing of this Muḥamad A'ká, the commander of the fleet, made ready ships, and, filling them with tried soldiers, and arming them with guns and muskets, he went out to encounter the enemy, and volleys of round shot, musketry, and rockets† were fired on both sides, till many Hindús and innumerable infidels were killed.

On hearing of this, Sultán Bahádar marched hastily from Kambháiat. On the first day he reached the village of Matelí, on the next Gondí; then he went to Dhandúkah, then Ránpúr, and thence to Jasdún. When Ishák heard that the Sultán himself was coming to chastise him, he took to flight, and, leaving Sórath, went off towards the Ran, that is, to the salt marshes. The Sultán marched from Jasdún to the town of Bánsáwár, and then to the town of Déolí, a fort fifteen *kós* from Júnahgarh, where he heard of Ishák's having gone off to the Ran. He then sent Khán-Khánán to pursue the rebel, with orders not to allow him to escape alive. When Ishák, that villainous son of a slave, came near the Ran he heard that Toghlak Khán, the governor of Morbí, had come out to attack him. Ishák faced round and gave battle, and Toghlak Khán was defeated. Ishák then learnt that Khán-Khánán had been sent after him, and was coming up rapidly, so he made all haste to escape, and passed over the Ran. Khán-Khánán encamped on the edge of the Ran.

After detaching Khán-Khánán, the Sultán remained where he was for ten days. On the eleventh day he marched to the town of Manglór, from thence to Chorawár, thence to Pattan Díú, and then to the town of Kórínár. There he gave orders for the army to remain encamped at Nawá-nagar, *i.e.* Dílwárah, whilst he visited Díú. Another son of Malik Aïáz, whose name was Tóghán, who lived at Díú, came to Dílwárah to wait

* It is proposed to give the Portuguese view of these events in the Appendix to Vol. II.

† *Hukkahhó*, حقہ Their use on this occasion shows that they must have been rockets. The use of *shells* in a naval action, at this date, could hardly have been possible. See note, p. 211, *ante*.

on the Sultán, and was graciously received. The Sultán stayed there for a month. He then placed Díú in the charge of Kiwám-ul-Mulk, and Júnahgarh under Mujáhid Khán*; after that he marched towards Ahmadábád. He then heard that the Ráná had sent to the presence his son named Bikramájít, with a suitable tribute. From Díú the Sultán set out for Ahmadábád, and proceeded to the town of Talájah, from thence to the port of Ghóghah, and having gone on a sailing expedition, he proceeded with all speed straight to Muhamadábád without any halt. The son of Ráná Sánká came there and was graciously received.

The Sultán spent a month at Muhamadábád in pleasure and enjoyment, when he proceeded to Ahmadábád, where also he passed three months in ease and pleasure. After that he went to Kambháiat, and, staying there three days, he returned to Ahmadábád. After some days he went out hunting towards Nádót, and the Rájah of that country waited upon him and did homage. He then proceeded to the port of Sórat, from thence by ship to Ránér, and back again to Sórat. Travelling hastily from thence, he reached Ahmadábád in one night and a day. The four months of the rainy season he passed at Chámpánír, that is, Muhamadábád. After the rains the son of the Ráná received leave to return to Chítór.

In the year H. 934 (A.D. 1528), the Sultán again went to the island of Díú, and spent several days there in pleasure. He then started one evening for Kambháiat, and, travelling all night, reached that place at sun-rise. In these days the Sultán was so famed for his rapid journeys, that making "a Bahádarí journey" was a proverbial saying applied to anyone who covered a great distance in a short time. He stayed there three days, making excursions and hunting in the neighbour-

* The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says Mujáhid Khán Bhalím (the corpulent), under which name he again appears after Bahádar's death. The same work says the events at Díú occupied a month.

hood; then he embarked and went to Ghóghah, and from thence to Díú, where he stayed two days, and then, going on board ship, returned again to Kambháiat. He then went to his capital, where he ordered the erection of an outer wall round Bharúj. Afterwards he set out with an army for the country of Bágar.* He halted at Mikrej, and there the Rájah of Dúngarpúr came to pay his respects. Thence he went on to Dúngarpúr, and, encamping by the tank of that place, he occupied himself some days in fishing. He sent his army against some rebellious *zamíndárs* of that neighbourhood, with orders to ravage their country. He himself returned to Ahmadnagar, and from thence he went to Pattan, to visit the tomb of his great ancestor, Sultán Muzaffar, otherwise Zafar Khán, where he bestowed many presents on men of religion and learning. From thence he went with all expedition to Ahmadábád, and on the 1st of Sha'bán he travelled from thence to Muhamadábád, or Chámpánír, in one day. On the 1st Ramzán, leaving his army there, he went with his attendants and an escort to inspect the new fortifications which he had ordered to be built at Bharúj. On the ninth of the month he proceeded to Kambháiat.

He spent one day at Kambháiat, and was rambling by the sea-side, when a *ghráb* came in from Díú, and reported that a Firangí ship had come into that port, and that Kiwám-ul-Mulk had put the crew into prison and seized all the cargo. The Sultán immediately went off to Díú, and Kiwám-ul-Mulk brought all the captive Firangís before him. The Sultán offered them Islám and made them all Musulmáns.† After

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says this expedition was also directed against Idar, and was quite, and speedily, successful. The Sultán returned to Muhamadábád Chámpánír. He then went to Kambháiat. The story of the capture of the Portuguese is stated exactly as in the text. Firishtah merely notices the latter event. The "hunting" at Nádót is also said, by the "Mirát-i-Ahmadí," to have been an expedition undertaken for the chastisement of the Rájah of that place.

† The Portuguese writers deny this conversion. The matter belongs more properly to the account of Portuguese enterprise in Gujarát, which it is hoped to give in the Appendix to Vol. II.

this the Sultán went, by way of Kambháiat, to Muhamadábád, and stayed there some time enjoying himself.

The Sultán now received intelligence that his sister's son, Muhamad Khán, son of 'A'dil Khán (of Kándésh), had gone out, with two thousand five hundred horse, to the assistance of 'Imád-ul-Mulk Gáwélí. Gáwél is a fort in the country of Birár. Nizám-ul-Mulk having entered into a confederacy with the petty rulers of the Dakhin, that is, with Baríd, ruler of the city of Bidar, Khudáwand Khán Páthirí, 'Aín-ul-Mulk, and others, had given battle to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and defeated him.* A letter also reached the Sultán from his nephew Muhamad Khán, representing that 'Imád-ul-Mulk had been a faithful and obedient ally of the throne of Gujarát, from the time of Sultán Muzaffar to the present, and every year sent to the Sultán elephants from Jájnagar as tribute. Now the rulers of the Dakhin had entered into an iniquitous league against him, and, having driven him from his country, were endeavouring to destroy his power; no resource was left him, therefore, but an appeal to the Sultán. 'Imád-ul-Mulk also wrote and represented the condition of his affairs. On reading these letters the Sultán observed that the *amírs* of the Dakhin were all tyrants and oppressors, that 'Imád-ul-Mulk was unjustly oppressed, and that relief of the oppressed was one of the chief duties of just kings.

On the 14th of the month of Zí-l-hijjah, in the very height of the rainy season, when movement on the roads is difficult, especially in the Dakhin, the Sultán marched out with a picked force and encamped at Hálól. From thence he sent out in all directions, summoning his soldiers to their standards, and

* The "Tab. Akbarí" places these events towards the close of 934 A.H. (say about the middle of 1527 A.D.). It adds that the confederates seized the important fort of Máhúr, and captured in the action three hundred elephants. Firishtah adds that the confederates laid an ambuscade, into which 'Imád-ul-Mulk fell; also that Bahádar Khán had mediated, at 'Imád-ul-Mulk's request, the previous year, and, at the time, with success; and that on this occasion he viewed the confederates as the aggressors.

waited for their arrival.* Another letter from 'Imád-ul-Mulk brought the news that his enemies had besieged and taken the fort of Patharí. The Sultán instantly began his march, and arrived at Baródah in the month of Muharram A.H. 935 (Sept. A.D. 1528), where he halted for a month to muster and arrange his forces. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" writes thus :—"At this time I acted for the Sultán as *dáróghah* of the port of Kambháiat. I also received my summons and came to join the royal army. What I have written upon the matter I have written as an eye-witness." When the army was assembled the Sultán marched from Baródah. He was then met by Ja'far Khán, son of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who paid his respects and was very kindly received. When Nandarbár was reached, 'Imád-ul-Mulk and Muhamad Khán also came to meet him, and were received with much honour. The Sultán, moreover, gave to 'Imád-ul-Mulk a jewelled sword-belt and a golden umbrella. The march was continued to the fort of Gálnah, and from thence to Déógír, known as Daulatábád, where the army encamped on the 2nd Rabí'-ul-ákhir.

They say that in this army there were a hundred thousand horsemen and nine hundred fighting elephants. When they saw from the ramparts Bahádar Sháh's immense army the people of the fort were struck with dismay, and despaired of being able to resist. Just then a cloud of dust rolled away, and from under its curtain appeared the army of Nizám-ul-Mulk, which had been lying in ambush behind some hills, and which now advanced upon the Sultán's army. When this was known, the troops of Bahádar Sháh came to the rescue, and like the waves of the sea enveloped the enemy on all sides, so that the Dakhinís were quickly defeated. Three chiefs of the royal army were killed in this battle, Mukhlis-ul-Mulk, Muhib-ul-Mulk, and the son of Mukhlis-ul-Mulk. Many of the Dakhinís were killed.

* The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" says the Sultán had a hundred thousand horse and three hundred elephants.

After the forces of Nizám-ul-Mulk had been thus dispersed, the Sultán gave orders for the close investment of Daulatábád, and the officers began to draw the lines for the trenches, when an ambassador came from Nizám-ul-Mulk to state that his master threw himself entirely on the mercy of Sultán Bahádar, saying that he had no wish to oppose the Sultán, and offering to surrender upon a promise of safety. The Sultán gave the required assurance, and dismissed the ambassador, who promised that within ten days Nizám-ul-Mulk would wait upon the Sultán. After the end of ten days another ambassador came and asked for a further term of ten days. He was very submissive, so the Sultán granted the extension, but added that if this time there was any further failure in the promise, he would lay the fort of Daulatábád in ashes.

The second promise was also broken, and Sultán Bahádar in anger gave orders that the fort should be attacked on all sides. A fire of artillery and musketry commenced, and for twenty days they continued fighting hand to hand. But the defences were very strong, and the capture of the fortress being yet remote, the Sultán raised the siege and marched towards the city of Bidar. The *wakíls* of Nizám-ul-Mulk Ahmadnagarí, Baríd Bidarí, 'A'dil Khán Bíjapúrí, and Khudáwand Khán Páthari came to wait upon the Sultán, bringing letters and royal offerings from their respective principals. The substance of these representations was that the accusation of having begun the strife, brought by 'Imád-ul-Mulk against Nizám-ul-Mulk, was contrary to fact, for he himself had committed the first outrage by wresting the fort of Máhúr out of the hands of Nizám-ul-Mulk's officers. To avenge himself Nizám-ul-Mulk had gone to war; but still the confederates were ready to accept Sultán Bahádar's decision in the matter, and to obey his orders. As this statement of the *amírs* of the Dakhin was true, the Sultán abandoned his hostile intentions against the confederated armies, and peace was made between them and

'Imád-ul-Mulk Gáwélí. The Sultán then returned to his capital.*

On the 1st of the month of Sha'bán, A.H. 935 (A.D. 1529), Sultán Bahádar arrived at Muhamadábád. A great number of men of the Dakhin had followed the Sultán's army with the desire of entering into his service. The proper officers were desired to make a muster-roll of them, and it was found that there were twelve thousand horsemen. Suitable stipends and *jágírs* and proper allowances were conferred on them.

In the month of Ramzán, Sultán Bahádar went to Ahmadábád to visit and recite a *fátihah* at the tombs of his ancestors. After the performance of these ceremonies he left Ahmadábád, and went to Kambháiat to inspect the new ships which he had ordered to be built there, and afterwards, on the day of the *'Íd-ul-fitr*, he proceeded to Muhamadábád. In the month of Shawál, Jám Fíróz, King of Sind, who had been defeated by the Moghals,† came to seek refuge with the Sultán. The Sultán received him with great compassion, and comforted him, promising to wrest his kingdom from the hands of his enemies, and to restore it to him. About the same time Nar Sing Déó, brother's son to Mán Sing, Rájah of Gwáliár, came

* The "Tárîkh-i-Alfí," Firishtah, and the "Tab. Akbarí" say very little about this campaign. The former says that the confederates, when they saw that Bahádar was coming to the assistance of their opponents, gave in at once. Firishtah represents that Bahádar delayed his advance for some time, till his army was collected, and, in the meantime, as the text states, the confederates gained further advantages. Firishtah also deals with the entire campaign ending in 937 A.H., and says that Sultán Bahádar suffered much from want of supplies, partly owing to a famine and partly to the action of the enemy, but that they at length submitted, as the text states. The Portuguese accounts state that Sultán Bahádar lost heavily, from want and from a very severe winter, apparently in 935 or 936—probably the latter.

† The history of Jám Fíróz and his expulsion from his capital, Tathah, by the Arghúns, will be found at length in Erskine's *India under Bábar and Humáiún*, vol. i. pp. 360–81. He appears to have been patronised by Muzaffar Sháh II., of Gujarát, but nothing is said of it in the "Mirát-i-Sikandarí." Probably the aid given to Jám Fíróz was merely a matter of shelter and of pecuniary assistance, not of political interference in his behalf during his numerous struggles and (well-deserved) misfortunes. Indeed, similar assistance seems to have been equally afforded by Muzaffar Sháh (II.) to Fíróz's rival, Saláh-ud-dín, also a connection of Muzaffar Sháh, whose grandmother was of the royal family of Sind.

with a following of Rájpúts to wait upon the Sultán, who accepted him as one of his officers, and gave him a suitable *jágír*. Prithí Ráj, nephew of Ráná Sánká, also came and paid homage, and was taken into service by the Sultán.*

Afterwards, in Muharram, H. 936 (September A.D. 1529), Ja'far Khán, son of 'Imád-ul-Mulk Gáwélí, presented a letter from his father to the Sultán, representing that Nizám-ul-Mulk had not been faithful to his engagements; and complaining that he had not restored the elephants which he had taken, nor had he given up the town of Páthárí and its dependencies, which he had seized and held by force, and which belonged to 'Imád-ul-Mulk. He begged, therefore, that Sultán Bahádar would once more lead his army to the Dakhin that the writer might obtain his desires. The Sultán thereupon gave his officers directions to prepare supplies in view of the assembling of an army. On the 2nd Muharram A.H. 936 (6th Sept. 1529) the Sultán marched from Muhamadábád against the Dakhin. His first march was to the town of Dabhóí, thence by regular stages to the village of Dhárólí. Muhamad Khán A'sírí there came in and waited on the Sultán. A few marches farther on 'Imád-ul-Mulk Gáwélí also, leaving his own capital, came to visit the Sultán. When the Sultán reached the fort of Múlér Bahar Jíú, Rájah of Baglánah, also presented himself and did homage. The Sultán received him very graciously, and gave him two fine rubies for ear-rings, and Bahar Jíú, in order to establish a connection with the Sultán, gave in marriage to him one of his sisters, who for beauty, intellect, and knowledge had no equal in her day. On the following day, in accordance with the wish of the Sultán, he gave another sister to Muhamad Khán A'sírí.

When these matters were despatched, Sultán Bahádar pur-

* This is probably the correct version of the facts, and is followed by the best texts, but some of the rest speak only of Nar Sing, and call him the nephew of Ráná Sánká. The evidence of Firishtah and the "Tab. Akbarí" agrees with the story as given in the text. The "Tab. Akbarí" adds that several other chiefs also waited on him and entered his service.

sued his march, and leaving the country of the Rájah of Baglánah he entered the territories of the Dakhin. On this occasion he conferred on Bahar Jíú the title of Bahar Khán, and sent him thence with a detachment, to the fort of Chéwal, to plunder the country round. The Sultán then continued his march till he came to Ahmadnagar, but the Dakhinís had evacuated the place before his arrival, and had fled. The Sultán gave orders for levelling all the palaces and fine buildings with the ground, and for destroying and uprooting the gardens. He remained there twelve days for the purpose of giving his men rest after their long marches. From thence he marched towards the Bálághát, and there he sent Mujáhid Khán, with a detachment, to the town of Ousá.

'Imád-ul-Mulk brought to the knowledge of the Sultán that the city of Parindah, in the country of Kwájah Jahán, was a flourishing place, and many of the inhabitants were rich. He accordingly sent Malik Amín, at the head of a strong force, to Parindah. The Malik made a rapid march against the place, and, coming down upon it like a bolt from heaven, utterly destroyed it. Much wealth in goods and money fell into the hands of his men.

At this time it came to the knowledge of Sultán Bahádar that Nizám-ul-Mulk Bahrí, Baríd, Kwájah Jahán, 'Aín-ul-Mulk, and Khudáwand Khán had all gone up together to plunder and lay waste A'sír and Burhánpúr. The Sultán immediately sent Kaisar Khán in pursuit of them with a large force. Next day he sent also Muhamad Khán A'sírí to his aid with an army and elephants. When these two forces had united, they encountered the chiefs of the Dakhin in the country of Burhánpúr, and a great battle followed. While they were fighting hand to hand, and the issue of the day was trembling in the balance, the soldiers of the army cried out, "Bahádar Sháh! Fight, brothers, fight! the Sultán's standard is flying, and he himself has come," as if the Sultán had arrived. On hearing this name the Dakhinís took to flight

and scattered in all directions. The royal army returned victorious and triumphant, and rewards and promotion were given to all who deserved them. After a while, Baríd, the ruler of Bidar, finding that he was unable to withstand the army of the Sultán, sought means of obtaining peace. He accordingly sent to 'Imád-ul-Mulk offering the hand of his daughter in marriage, and 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who was anxiously on the watch for such an opening, gladly accepted this offer, and married the girl. A reconciliation was thus effected between them, and 'Imád-ul-Mulk entreated Sultán Bahádar to forgive Baríd. To this he consented, and Baríd agreed to the name of the Sultán being used in the *khutbah* and on the coins. In most of the cities of the Dakhin the *khutbah* was read in the name of Sultán Bahádar.

Sultán Bahádar moved his camp from Bír to Páthari and the Dakhinís shut themselves up in the fort. The Sultán laid siege to it, and fighting went on for some days; but the place was strong, and its reduction in a short time was improbable, so the Sultán withdrew to his capital, leaving 'Imád-ul-Mulk to carry on the siege, assisted by Alp Khán. He himself went on rapidly, attended by his personal followers, and reached Muhamadábád on the 1st Sha'bán; and on the 12th, the army, which had marched more leisurely, also arrived. The rainy season was passed there in comfort and ease.*

In the year H. 937 (A.D. 1531) Sultán Bahádar led out his army for the conquest of the country of Bágar. When he reached the village of Khánpúr, on the banks of the Mahindrí, he appointed Khán 'Azam A'saf Khán and Khudáwand Khán *wazír* chiefs, the most trusted of all his officers, to lead a strong army against Bágar. He himself, with a picked force, started to visit Kambháiat and the island of Díú. He arrived at Kambháiat on the 20th Muharram, and went from thence by ship to Díú. There he bought from the owners, for his own

* The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" gives a short summary of these events as happening in the beginning of the year 937 A.H.

use and at a satisfactory price, the whole of the stuffs and goods of various sorts which had been brought by ships from Rúm, Europe, and other distant parts. It is said that among the things so purchased, besides many others, were thirteen hundred *mans* of rose-water. The Sultán showed great kindness to the European Turks (*Rúmís*), who had come with Mustafa Rúmí, and appointed a place for their dwelling in Díú. He committed Díú to the special charge of Malik Toghán, son of Malik Aïáz, and returned to Kambháiat, which he reached in the month of Safar, and, remaining there one day, on the following day he went on to Muhamadábád, where he arrived on the 27th of the same month.

When he reached the capital he was waited upon by Fateh Khán, Kutb Khán, and 'Umar Khán Afghán Lódí,* relations of Sultán Bahlól, who had fled to him for safety from the Moghals. They were admitted to an audience, and the Sultán received them with great kindness. He gave them three hundred garments of gold brocade, fifty-five horses, and several *lakhs* of *tankahs* for their expenses, at their first interview.

After this he proceeded towards Bágar, and at Morásah he rejoined his army, which, without him, had been like a body without a soul. He halted one day, and then marched against Bágar. On entering the country of Bágar he was waited upon at Sanílah by Prithí Ráj, the Rájah of Dúngarpúr,† whose son became a Muhamadan.‡ Leaving his army, he went off on a

* They were probably part of the Afghán force which had been in arms against the Emperor in the eastern part of his domains, *i.e.* Oudh and Rohilkand, and who had been defeated on the banks of the Gograh river, in Eastern Oudh, just at this time. One ground of Humáiún's hostility to Bahádar Sháh, was his extreme favour to all the Afghán refugees, which gave rise to the idea, probably not wholly unfounded, that he desired to make himself the chief centre of opposition to the rising Moghal power.

† U'dí Singh, before mentioned as Rájah of Dúngarpúr, had fallen in the battle of Kánwah, fighting against the Emperor Bábar. The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah give it to be understood that Bahádar's whole object in this expedition (though it led to other results) was to bring some of these petty border states into order and submission.

‡ There is some little obscurity in the story as related in the text; but it is clearer as told by the "Tab. Akbarí." Bahádar Sháh not only overran the Bágar country, but carefully took possession of it as he proceeded, leaving garrisons in all the strong places, so that Paras Rám, seeing him-

hunting excursion, with a light escort, towards Bánslah (Bánswárah). On reaching the pass of Karchí he was waited upon by the *wakíls* of Ratanî, Rájah of Chítór, whose names were Dúngar Sí and Jáj Rái. They were graciously received, and presented the tribute and offerings they had brought. The Sultán, on returning to his camp, gave the village of Sanílah to the newly-converted son of Prithí Ráj. He gave half of Bágar to Prithí Ráj himself, and the other half to Chagá. It is said that while the Sultán was hunting tigers in this neighbourhood one day, a well-known tiger made its appearance. The Sultán pointed it out to one 'Alam Khán, who was a very valiant and strong man. 'Alam Khán rushed on the tiger like a mad elephant. At the onset he received a severe wound, but the tiger had no opportunity to inflict another, for 'Alam Khán slew him outright. Three days later 'Alam Khán died of the wound: he left four sons, Safdar Khán and three others. The Sultán continued 'Alam Khán's *jágír* to them and showed them much kindness.

The *wakíls* of Ratanî Chand here informed the Sultán Bahádar that Sharzah Khán, with the son of Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, had plundered the country of the Ráná.* On hearing

self likely to be hopelessly ousted, submitted, and made his peace with the Sultán; and his son's conversion to Muhamadanism was, probably, a mode of gaining the Sultán's favour. But Chagá (or Jagá, or Jagat), his brother, held out, and, with most of the chief men of the country, took refuge in the hills. At last, being hard pushed, he made interest with the Ráná of Chítór. Ráná Sánká, having died, had been succeeded by his son (variously called Ratan Sí, Ratan Sén, and Ratanî Chand), through whose interest with Sultán Bahádar, terms were made with the Gujarát King. Jagat (for this, probably, is the true name) apparently represented the patriotic party, and so, for the sake of peace, was allowed to have half the country, while a provision was made for the newly-converted son of Paras Rám.

* The "Tab. Akbarí" calls Sharzah Khán *Hákim-wa-Shikdarí-i-Mandú*, *i.e.* Civil and Military Governor of Mandú, and, therefore, a high and trusted official of Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí, whose act, therefore, the outrage might be considered. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" says that Mahmúd Khiljí was actuated by three motives: (1) dislike of the Ráná; (2) desire to recover some of the territories he had retained after Mahmúd's defeat; (3) anger with Silhadí Rájpút, who (more or less in concert with the Ráná, possibly) had seized recently other districts belonging to Málwah. Sikandar Khán also held some of the Málwah territory. Firishtah gives an account of these quarrels, but says that Sikandar was dead, and had been succeeded by his adopted son, Mu'ín Khán.—Briggs' Firishtah, vol. iv. pp. 263–65.

of this the Ráná had come to the town of Sambaliah, which belongs to Málwah and is near Sárangpúr, and, having ravaged the country round, he was then confronting Sultán Mahmúd, who was in Ujain. It also appeared that Sultán Mahmúd had been compassing the death of Sikandar Khán, governor of Síwás, and also of Silhadí,* both of whom had fled to the Ráná for protection. From his court Sikandar Khán and Bhúpat Rái, son of Silhadí, were coming to wait upon Sultán Bahádar, who received them kindly on the 27th Jumádi-ul-awal. They arrived, were admitted to an audience, and stated their complaints. Soon after, Dariá Khán and Kurésh Khán, *wakíls* of Sultán Mahmúd, came in and stated that their master was desirous of visiting Sultán Bahádar, but was waiting for the Sultán's invitation. The Sultán said, "Sultán Mahmúd has repeatedly written intimating that he is coming to see me, but he does not come. An interview would be very pleasant to both of us. I am going to march by the pass of Karchí, and Sultán Mahmúd can also march that way." The *wakíls* returned with this answer.†

* This is the first mention of Silhadí. He is called in this work, and in the "Tab. Akbarí," Silhadí *Purbiah*, from which it may be inferred that he was a military adventurer from the eastward of the Ganges, very probably from Oudh. It will be seen, however, that he was in intimate relation with the Ráná Sánká, the daughter of the latter having married Silhadí's son, which is a proof that the latter was a Rájpút of some high tribe. According to the "Tab. Akbarí" (Málwah chapter), Silhadí had got possession of his country when Mahmúd was defeated by Ráná Sánká, and Bhílsah is said later on to have been eighteen years in Silhadí's possession when retaken in 938 by Bahádar Sháh. These districts were only recovered by Mahmúd in 919 A.H., so Silhadí was probably one of the Rájpút adventurers who, about that time, Médiní Ráó collected round him. See *ante*, p. 254 and note.

† The state of affairs between Mahmúd of Málwah and Bahádar Sháh is not clearly defined in the text, but the link is supplied in almost identical words by both the "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah (Briggs, vol. iv. p. 265). Chánd Khán, Bahádar's younger brother, who had preferred remaining at Chítór to joining Bahádar Sháh, went thence to Mandú, and claimed and received the hospitality of Mahmúd. However, Rezí-ul-Mulk, one of the Gujarát nobles, of whom mention is made in the sequel, had, at this time, turned malcontent, and had fled from Bahádar Sháh's court to A'grah, to the Emperor Bábar. Here he endeavoured to stir up that Emperor to assist in placing Chánd Khán on the throne, and, visiting him at Mandú, returned to A'grah. Bahádar was naturally angry, and remonstrated with Mahmúd Sháh for permitting this; but he, nevertheless, allowed the visit

On the day Sultán Bahádar passed through the pass of Karchí,* Ráná Rataní and Silhadí came to pay their respects to him, and they were presented with thirty elephants, many horses, and one thousand five hundred dresses of gold brocade. After a few days the Ráná returned to his country. Sikandar Khán, Silhadí, Dalpat Ráo Rájah of I'dar, the Rájah of Bágar, and the Ráná's two *wakíls*, Dúngar Sí and Jáj Rái, all accompanied Sultán Bahádar. The Sultán said to his *amírs*, "Sultán Mahmúd is coming, and I am going to the village of Sambaliah to meet him; after the interview I will return." Muhamad Khán A'sírí accompanied Sultán Bahádar. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádarí" states that he accompanied the Sultán in this expedition, and has described what he saw with his own eyes.

When the Sultán reached the village of Sambaliah he halted, expecting every day to see Sultán Mahmúd; but eventually an envoy came from Mahmúd to state that while hunting near Síwás he had fallen from his horse and broken his arm, an accident which would defer his arrival for some days. The Sultán replied, "I came here to see Sultán Mahmúd; I am now going to Mandú to pay him a visit, and we shall see each other there." The envoy then represented that it seemed from certain proceedings that the Sultán would demand that Prince Chánd Khán should be given up; but Sultán Mahmúd desired to represent that Chánd Khán was the son of his benefactor, that he had sought refuge with him, and that he would never seize and give him up. The Sultán replied that he would not ask for Chánd Khán, and desired the envoy to tell his master that he (Bahádar) was marching on Mandú and that Sultán Mahmúd should await his coming. The envoy returned, and Sultán Bahádar went on to Dípálpúr. He there heard that

to be repeated, and Bahádar was very angry. His anger was now increased by Mahmúd's attack on the Hindú States with whom the Gujarát King was in alliance.

* It would seem that this was on Sultán Bahádar's *return* through Karchí, and not after the hunting expedition mentioned in page 348.

Sultán Mahmúd had conferred on his eldest son the title of Ghiás-ud-dín, and sent him to Mandú to secure the fort, while he himself intended to move about from place to place and thus evade the performance of his distasteful promise. This news made Sultán Bahádar extremely angry. About the same time 'A'lam Khán* and Fateh Khán Shírwání, nobles of Sultán Mahmúd, fled to Sultán Bahádar and complained of their sovereign's want of truth, and wished Sultán Bahádar to attack Mandú. When the Sultán arrived at the town of Dhár, Sharzah Khán, who had escaped from the fort of Mandú waited upon him, and said that Sultán Mahmúd had plotted his death, and his only chance of safety was to fly and seek refuge with Sultán Bahádar, from whom he hoped forgiveness of his offences. The Sultán forgave him, and treated him very kindly.

The army marched on to the village of Diláwarah, and from thence to the village of Na'lchah, where the Sultán encamped. The trenches at Sháhpúr, on the west of the fortress, were placed under the direction of Muhamad Khán Asírí; those of Bahlólpúr were under Alaf Khán; and on the south, those of the Hindú troops, who joined in this campaign, were at Bahalwánah.† On the 20th Rajab the Sultán advanced his camp to Mahmúdpúr.‡ When he had completed his arrangements for the investment of the fort, a heavy fire of artillery and musketry was commenced on both sides, and went on for some time. One day he sent certain brave and experienced soldiers to go all round the fortress and see where it was highest. After a careful examination, they reported that at the side of Sangár Chítórí the precipice was very deep and the wall very high. The Sultán said, "Please God, by that way I will

* This is another 'A'lam Khán; see note also at p. 276. At least five noblemen of this name were attached to Bahádar's court.

† Firishtah calls it "Sahalwána"; the "Tab. Akbarí" has "Bhagwása."

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" says, when he arrived here Sharzah Khán escaped from Mandú and joined Bahádar Sháh; but, according to the "Tab. Akbarí," the date was the 9th Sha'bán.

get into the fort." His hearers were amazed, and said, "As that is the highest part of the fort, how is it possible to enter there?"

On the 29th Sha'bán the Sultán held a council with Khán Khánán and some of his intimate followers. Early in the night they mounted and went towards Sangár Chítórí, their departure being unknown to the generality of the Sultán's army. It is related that, because the hill at Sangár Chítórí is very high, and the ascent exceedingly difficult, the garrison felt secure as to this part of the fort, and were careless in guarding it. Some of the more daring of the soldiers of the Sultán climbed up during the night, and when dawn was near they, shouting "Allah! Allah!" attacked the guards, crying out also, "Sultán Bahádar comes!" At the sound of this name the garrison took to flight, and at daybreak the Sultán and a limited number of soldiers scaled Sangár Chítórí. When his army perceived this, the men swarmed up after him like so many ants or locusts. Habíb Khán, who was one of the chief *amírs* of Sultán Mahmúd, offered some opposition to the assailants, but they defeated him in one charge. Sultán Mahmúd himself, with many elephants, was coming up to support him, but when his eye fell on the umbrella of Sultán Bahádar he knew he could not resist, and retired with about a thousand men into his palace. The plunder, killing, and the making of prisoners went on for one watch, and then a proclamation of quarter and safety was made. This happened on the 9th Sha'bán A.H. 937 (28th March 1531).*

Sultán Mahmúd, being besieged in his palace, sought safety by asking for quarter and mercy, and came out with seven sons to wait upon Sultán Bahádar. He was placed in the custody of trustworthy guards, and on the 12th Muharram

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Chánd Khán, as soon as Bahádar Sháh's standard was seen on the ramparts, privately made his way out of the fort and fled to the Dakhin. The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" adds to the particulars above given, that the assault was made on the eastern side, and under the guidance of two inhabitants of Mandú.

he was sent to Gujarát, in the charge of Alaf Khán, Ikbál Khán, and A'saf Khán.* When these *amírs* reached Dahód, on the borders of Málwah and Gujarát, U'dí Singh, Rájah of Pál,† at the head of a large force of Kólís, attacked them with the intention of rescuing Sultán Mahmúd. In the confusion the guards who were around the Sultán's *pálkí* killed him. The sons of Mahmúd were carried to Muhamadábád, and there imprisoned.‡

All the kingdom of Mandú came into the possession of Sultán Bahádar. He was very considerate and kind to the Málwah nobles, and confirmed their *jágírs* to them. Kálan Khán, sister's son of Alaf Khán, was made chief over them, and appointed *faujdár* to protect the country and to settle and improve it.

On the 1st Shawál of this year intelligence arrived that Mán Singh, Rájah of Jhálawár, a dependency of Gujarát, had sacked the villages of Bíramgáon, Mandal, Badhawán, &c., had attacked and killed Sháh Jíú, son of Bakhan, the *silahdár*. The Sultán observed to Khán Khánán that Jhálawár was in

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Mahmúd Sháh was about to put to death the ladies of his family, but was dissuaded by several of his principal officers, who waited on Bahádar Sháh and obtained a promise that they should not be touched. Mahmúd afterwards lost his temper, and abused Bahádar Sháh to his face in a private conversation. According to Firishtah, Bahádar Sháh was, before this, inclined to treat him very generously, and even to restore him to his government. (Briggs, vol. iv. p. 268.) If, as Briggs supposes, the A'saf Khán mentioned in the text was the A'saf Khán who, thirteen years before, had fought side by side with Mahmúd at the battle of Gágrún, this selection would show a kindly feeling.

† The name is not very clear, and may not be correct. U'dí Singh of Dúngarpúr, as has been said, was killed at the battle of Kánwah, long before this event, but the band was probably led by the chief of some of the petty chiefs of the territories included under the generic name of Pál. There is some doubt as to the name of the place, but Dahód is probably correct, as Firishtah and the best MSS. give it. Some have "I'dar," or "Mandisór."

‡ This agrees with the statements of the "Tab. Akbarí" and of the "Táríkh-i-Alfí." The latter, however, plainly intimates that the attack was a mere pretence, and that Mahmúd was deliberately put to death, and adds that nothing more is known of the fate of the sons. Firishtah says that they were all killed with their father, and, as they disappear wholly from history at this point, this story is at least probable. All the authorities, except Firishtah, say there were seven sons, including the eldest, called Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín. Firishtah says "twenty," which is probably wrong.

his jurisdiction, and that Mán Singh required chastisement, and that it was incumbent on him to inflict this, and that he must therefore go off at once to Gujarát. The Khán went accordingly. On the 19th of the month Muhamad Khán A'sírí took leave of the Sultán. In the month of Zí-l-ka'dah Silhadí Púrbiah was also graciously dismissed to his residence at Ráísín.

The Sultán and his army passed the rainy season at Mandú, and on the 9th Safar A.H. 938 (A.D. 1532) he marched towards Burhánpúr and A'sír. When the Sultán arrived at Burhánpúr, Sháh Táhír Dakhiní,* a learned man and a poet, who was minister of Nizám-ul-Mulk, came to wait upon him with a message from his master, and, as several descendants of his tribe were admitted to the King's *darbár*, such as Sháh Mór, Sháh Kamál-ud-dín Asláf, &c., he sought, through them, likewise to gain admittance to the Sultán's *darbár*. The Sultán consented, on condition that he should first state Nizám-ul-Mulk's request standing, and should then be seated in *darbár*. He did so, and it then appeared that he brought a request from Nizám-ul-Mulk that he might be honoured with the title "Nizám Sháh"; and Nizám-ul-Mulk declared that, if his request were granted, he would place the saddle of obedience on his back, and would never oppose the Sultán, but would always come to him at his slightest beck. The Sultán asked what difference there would then be between himself and Nizám-ul-Mulk. Sháh Táhír replied, "A great difference. You are now known as a king over *amírs*, you will then be a king over kings." The Sultán was pleased with this reply. He bestowed the royal umbrella on Nizám-ul-Mulk, and from that time the rulers of Ahmadnagar have been called Nizám Sháh.†

* Sháh Táhír was a man not only of important political position, but also of considerable literary fame in his day. A collection of his letters to various great personages exists in the British Museum, and a notice of them, and of Sháh Táhír himself, will be found in Dr. Rieu's "Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum," vol. i. p. 395.

† MSS. A and Hyderábád omit this story altogether, but the other MSS. give it, as does Firishtah, both in the account of the Nizámí and of the

Some merchants from Persia were at Court seeking for a remission of customs' dues, which had been levied from them (amounting to 60,000 rupees) on their last voyage by Malik Tóghán, the son of Malik Aíáz. They pressed Sháh Táhír to intercede for them, and, though he at first refused, they at length compelled him, by their importunities, to visit Malik Tóghán on their behalf. The Malik, keeping his seat, made the Sháh stand while he made his request, and then motioned him to be seated, and treated him with every consideration, and not only granted his request and returned the 60,000 rupees at once to the merchants, but also added valuable presents, and declared that they should not be asked for customs' dues on any other voyage. The Sultán heard of this, and scolded the Malik for making the Sháh stand while he made his request. He replied, "You, too, kept the servant of the traitor (that is, Nizám-ul-Mulk) standing, so how could I, who am the servant of an honest man, stand up to receive him?" The point of the term "traitor," as applied to Nizám-ul-Mulk, is that he and his ancestors had been servants of the Bahmaní kings, and had risen to power by embezzlement and oppression. After a while, Nizám-ul-Mulk Dakhiní came to wait upon Sultán Bahádar, who showed him great attention, and addressed him as Sháh. At the same time, Muhamad Khán A'sírí received the title of Muhamad Sháh. The Sultán then returned to Mandú.

Gujarát dynasties. General Briggs, commenting on the latter, treats the story as a mere piece of boasting on the part of the Gujarát historians, and says that the Ahmadnagar kings had long before enjoyed the title. It seems clear, however, that their claim to it was not previously fully established. Firishtah says that the title was first assumed by Ahmad Sháh, after his victory over the Bahmaní king in 896 A.H., then dropped, and then, finally, again assumed. The Gujarát kings seem to have endeavoured, with more or less success, to assume a sort of nominal superiority over the petty kingdoms which rose on the ruins of the great Bahmaní dynasty; and the Gujarát historians are careful never before this time to concede to them the title of "Sháh." There seems no reason to doubt the story, the rather that Firishtah, who is a wholly unbiassed witness, in writing the history of the Nizámí kings, represents 'A'dil Sháh as taunting Burhán Nizám Sháh with his self-complacent pride in the royal title recently bestowed by the Sultán of Gujarát.

From Mandú the Sultán sent Malik Amín Nas* to Ráísín for the purpose of bringing Silhadí to Court. But for all the Malik's persuasions Silhadí would not come, and the Malik wrote to say that, notwithstanding the munificence which had bestowed on Silhadí three *lakhs*† of *tankahs* in cash, the city of Ujain, the *parganah* of A'shtah, and the district of Bhílsah as *tankhwáh*, besides horses and elephants in numbers that he had never before possessed, this ingrate was unwilling to go to Court and pay his respects, but contemplated flight into the country of Mewár. He was, moreover, deserving of death, for he was forcibly detaining in his possession several Musulmán women.‡ This statement kindled the Sultán's wrath. He directed Mukarrib Khán, brother of Ikhtiár Khán, to proceed with all speed to Muhamadábád, and instruct Ikhtiár Khán the *wazír* (who was a rival in excellence and ability to Mír 'Ali Shír, the prop of the throne of Sultán Toghlak) to collect and forward quickly an army and treasure and means of transport. The Sultán himself went to Na'lchah,§ and, with a view of misleading his enemies, gave out that he was going to Gujarát, lest Silhadí should be alarmed and take to flight.

Bhúpat, son of Silhadí, was in attendance at Court, and was apprehensive that the Sultán would march against Ráísín to punish his father's unfaithfulness, and being, therefore, in fear of his life, he again and again urged the Sultán to allow him to go to Ráísín, promising that, however ill-advised his father might be, he would bring him to Court. The Sultán had no desire to punish him for his father's offence, and, being anxious to dispel any apprehensions which Silhadí might entertain,

* Malik Amín Nas reappears more than once in the subsequent pages. "Nas" was probably a nickname. It is a word bearing several meanings in Persian, one, that of a person beginning to be corpulent, and may have been applied to this Malik Amín to distinguish him from some other person of the same name, as one of the Mujáhid Kháns was distinguished as Mujáhid Khán Bhalím, *i.e.* the corpulent.

† Some MSS. read *krórs* instead of *lakhs*.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" adds, "including some of the ladies of the late Sultán Násir-ud-dín."

§ Na'lchah was close to Mandú.

gave him leave to depart. After this, leaving his army at Na'lchah, Bahádar went to Dípálpúr, under colour of a hunting excursion. Silhadí now felt sure, both from his son's release and the Sultán's giving himself up to hunting, that the Sultán intended to return to Gujarát, and he resolved to go and wait upon him in the hope of obtaining, as before, favours from his generosity. So, leaving his son at Ujain, he went to pay his respects to the Sultán. Malik Amín, at the same time, privately informed the Sultán that it was not till Silhadí felt sure of the Sultán's going to Gujarát, and when he himself had promised him a *lakh* of *tankahs*, the port of Kambháiat, and one hundred Arab horses from the Sultán, that he had gone a single step on the way to the Sultán's camp; otherwise he would never have come at all. The Sultán said, "This wretch keeps Musulmán women in his house, and, according to the holy law, is worthy of death. I will not let him depart alive unless he becomes a Musulmán." After the arrival of Silhadí, Bahádar marched his army from Na'lchah to Dhár.

On the 20th Rabí'-ul-ákhir* Ikhtiár Khán arrived with a large force, treasure, and many guns, and a large amount of carriage, at Dhár. On the 17th Jumádi-ul-awal Silhadí and two of his relatives were placed in confinement.† His escort then fled to Ujain, to Silhadí's son, but his camp and his baggage were plundered by the Sultán's people; several of his camp-followers were killed, and his elephants taken over for the use of the Sultán. At sunset of the same day 'Imád-ul-Mulk was sent against Silhadí's son. In the first watch of that night the Sultán also marched towards Ujain, and on reaching 'Adlpúr‡ he ordered Khudáwand Khán, the *wazír*, to

* The "Tab. Akbarí" adds, 938 A.H.

† The "Tab. Akbarí" says that he was seized inside the fort of Dhár. That work and the "Tárikh-i-Alfí" say that one of his attendants committed suicide on his arrest. The accounts vary slightly, but that of the "Tárikh-i-Alfí" is that the man drew his dagger and rushed at Silhadí, who said, "Do you want to kill me?" The man replied, "Yes, this was for you; but, since you are afraid of it, it is for myself, that I may not see you a prisoner," and so stabbed himself and died. Firishtah repeats the anecdote briefly.

‡ The "Tab. Akbarí" calls it "Sádilpúr."

bring up the army by regular marches, while he (the Sultán) made a forced march on Ujain. On his arrival at Ujain 'Imád-ul-Mulk waited upon him, and informed him that Silhadí's son had fled before his arrival.*

On the 18th of the same month Habíb Khán of Mandú received the gift of the *parganah* of A'shtah, which was formerly his *jágír*, and Ujain was placed in charge of Dariá Khán, another Mandú noble. The Sultán then went on to Sárangpúr, and remained there some days, until his army came up. There he gave Sárangpúr to Mallú Khán,† who, from the first day of his accession, had been in continuous attendance upon him. From thence he proceeded to Bhílsah,‡ which had been converted to Islám by Sultán Shams-ud-dín of Dehlí. But Bhílsah had been eighteen years in the possession of Silhadí, and Muhamadan law and custom had been set aside for idolatry.§ When the Sultán arrived there he abolished idolatry and restored Islám; he cast out the idol-worshippers, destroyed the idols, overthrew the idol temples, and built *masjids* in their place.

On the 17th Jumádi-ul-ákhir he left Bhílsah, and proceeded by successive marches to a river two *kós* from Ráísín. On the next day he marched and pitched his camp by a tank near the fort of Ráísín.‖ As soon as he arrived a body of the enemy

* The "Tab. Akbarí" says "to Chítór."

† The "Tab. Akbarí" says of Mallú Khán that he had come from Mandú into Muzaffar Sháh's service. He was the same man who afterwards governed Málwah under the name of Kadar Sháh.

‡ "Here eight Portuguese who followed him showed their usual valour, Francis Tarares being the first who scaled a bulwark."—Faria y Sousa, tom. i. part iv. chap. v.

§ See previous note on Silhadí, *ante*, p. 349. These districts seem to have been originally given to Sáhib Khán, Mahmúd's brother and rival, when he desisted from his attempt on the throne; but he cannot have held them long, and they must in some way have got into the possession of Silhadí very soon afterwards. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that Bahádar Sháh halted three days at Bhílsah.

‖ The "Tab. Akbarí" says he was drawing out his forces by the tank, when, before they had time to come up, two parties of Rájpúts and Púrbíahs charged out of the fort upon the Sultán, who had but a slender force with him. He slew two or three with his own hand, and, his own men coming up, the enemy were repulsed and driven back into the fort. Firishtah only differs in saying that Bahádar slew ten men with his own hand.

came in sight, who had sallied out of the fort, and, although he had only a small number of men, he fell upon them. It is said several of them fell cleft asunder by his own sword. The enemy were put to flight, and driven back into the fort. The army then surrounded the fortress, and a fire was opened on it of arrows, musketry, cannon, and camel-guns. At sunset the Sultán directed every man to retire to his tent, and said that in the morning he would make dispositions for overthrowing the fortifications and destroying the infidel garrison. So the troops retired and rested; but at sunrise the Sultán assigned the command of the trenches to various chief nobles. Rúmí Khán, who was renowned for his skill in the use of artillery and in conducting sieges, beat down, in the twinkling of an eye, a bastion by the fire of his guns, and sent all the stones and bricks flying into the air; but the infidels quickly restored the wall. Twelve thousand Dakhinís,* who were in the service of the Sultán, and were skilled in sieges and mining, were ordered to the front, with directions to push forward their approaches on one side, and to drive a mine under the foundations of one of the bastions, to fill it with gunpowder, and explode it. The *amírs* were also ordered to protect the approaches as constructed, and for that purpose to move close up to the fort, that the walls might be levelled with the foundations in all directions. Every officer and man exerted himself to the utmost, and in the first watch of the night, for the distance of an arrow-shot, the wall was levelled with the ground,† and, the news of a royal highway into the fort having been received, orders were issued for the attack.

When Silhadí perceived this, he was alarmed lest the attack should be made successfully and all his people be slaughtered. Having obtained the friendly offices of some of the chief nobles,

* See p. 343.

† The expression used to describe this result in MS. A. is very curious: راه در امد شدن قلعه بعرض خديو گيتے ستان *ráh dar amad shudan kil'ah ba 'arz khedio gíte sitán*, "a way to go in and out of the fort, broad enough for a conquering king."

he informed the Sultán that he was ready to become a Musulmán, and to secure the evacuation of the fort and give it up to the Sultán. The Sultán approved, and Silhadí became a Muhamadan. The fort was held by Lakhman Sén, the brother of Silhadí. The latter sent for him, and he came out and had the honour of an interview with the Sultán. After this the two brothers went aside and conferred together. Lakhmán Sén asked why he wished to give up a place so strong and so well fortified, and had so hastily plunged into Muhamadanism and abandoned his gods, Mahádéó and Somnáth. Even at that moment his son Bhúpat, who had gone to the Ráná, was returning to its relief with the Ráná's son Bikamájít,* bringing forty or fifty thousand picked horse and artillery, and innumerable infantry. "You," said he, "have become a Musulmán, and the Sultán will say nothing to you; but we will hold the fortress until our allies arrive." Silhadí, who was still in heart an infidel, and felt as one, was delighted, and, agreeing to the course proposed, went to the Sultán, and said that if Lakhman Sén was sent back to the fortress, he would evacuate it on the following day.† To this the Sultán assented, and dismissed Lakhman Sén.

Next day, from the first dawn of light, they awaited the coming of Lakhman Sén until the second watch of the day, but he did not come. Silhadí then said that, with the Sultán's permission, he would go to the foot of the hill and ascertain why Lakhman Sén delayed. The Sultán sent Silhadí to the foot of the hill with a party of men whom he could trust, but, as had previously been arranged, not a soul of the garrison came out to Silhadí. From the bottom of the hill Silhadí cried out, in order to make a show of loyalty, "Rájpúts, why will ye be killed, and give your wealth, your lives, and your

* *Bikamájít.* There is some confusion here. The Vikramájít meant is apparently the son of Ráná Sánká, and brother of Ratan Sí, the reigning Ráná, and afterwards himself Ráná.

† It does not seem that Silhadí was not in earnest, in the first instance, in proposing the surrender, but he gave in to his brother's views gladly. The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah give the same complexion to the story.

honour to destruction? These breaches and this fallen wall will be your ruin, for to-morrow the Sultán will enter by them and kill every man of you." Thus informing them that the breaches were a great danger for them, and giving them a hint to repair and strengthen them. After speaking a few words in this style, he returned and made a report of the state of affairs to the Sultán, who was much enraged at the obstinacy of the garrison. About the same time a younger son of Silhadí's made an attack upon a royal post in the town of Barsiah with two thousand horse. But the Musulmáns were victorious, and the infidel fled to his elder brother, Bhúpat, who was with Bikamájít. Several of the chief infidels were killed and wounded, and their heads were cut off and sent to the Sultán. When these arrived there was a report that the head of Silhadí's son had been brought in, at which Silhadí was overcome with sorrow.* This made the Sultán still more angry, and he told Burhán-ul-Mulk that if Silhadí had not become a Musulmán he would have ordered him to be cut to pieces, and he directed Burhán-ul-Mulk to take Silhadí to Mandú and keep him in confinement there till he had need of him.

The Sultán sent Muhamad Khán A'sírí and 'Imád-ul-Mulk with a detachment against the Ráná. When they reached Barsiah they learned that the Ráná was approaching with a large army.† On the following day they advanced to Kharód. Silhadí's son, Púran Mal, who was stationed there with two thousand horse, fled without fighting. From Barsiah 'Imád-ul-Mulk wrote to the Sultán an account of the Ráná's great army, which was advancing to the succour of the enemy. Upon this the Sultán observed that the force with these officers was quite sufficient for dealing with the Ráná, but if he himself went to battle the troops would be encouraged by his presence,

* According to some accounts, Silhadí's son actually was killed. See both "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah.

† Firishtah says 40,000 horse. The "Tab. Akbarí" gives the substance of 'Imád-ul-Mulk's letter, which was to the effect that the Ráná's force was beyond all count, but that the result was in God's hands, and that they would not fail to do their best.

and he hoped that, with the help of God, he might take that infidel alive. He appointed Ikhtiár Khán to continue the siege of Ráísín, and went himself to join his army.

Within twenty-four hours he travelled seventy *kós*,* and with thirty horsemen joined the army, into which his arrival put fresh life. When the Ráná's scouts reported his arrival, the Ráná, declining an action, fell back a march, and sent his *wakíls*, really as spies, to the Sultán.† His representation was that he had heard of Silhadí having been arrested, and of his being treated harshly and stinted in food and drink by his keepers, and that he was kept closely confined. He had sent Bikamájít to intercede for Silhadí, and hoped that the Sultán would show kindness to the prisoner. If the Sultán wished, Bikamájít should come to wait upon him. The Sultán's answer was that he might come. The *wakíls* returned, and told the Ráná that they had seen the Sultán with their own eyes, and, having seen his army also, they had perceived that the Ráná's men were inferior in fighting qualities to the latter. Having heard this, the Ráná fled by night.‡

At this juncture the Sultán heard that Alaf Khán§ was near at hand with thirty-six thousand horse and many guns and elephants, which he was bringing from Gujarát. The Sultán sent him word and order to the effect that the vile Ráná was flying like a vapour before him, and that he was pursuing him with a picked force, and that Alaf also must follow with all the expedition possible. It is said that the Sultán travelled with the speed of lightning seventy *kós* in one night and day, and

* Málwah *kós*, the "Tab. Akbarí" says.

† According to the "Tab. Akbarí," these envoys (two Rájpúts) came to the Sultán a march beyond Kharód, the Sultán having advanced from the latter place. According to this work, the Sultán asked, in reply, why the Ráná had come with so enormous a force if his object was merely to intercede for Silhadí, and not to fight.

‡ According to the "Tab. Akbarí," the Ráná made the first four marches in one day.

§ There is the usual confusion here between "Alaf" and "Ulugh." Some MSS. give the former, and some the latter name. The preponderance of evidence seems in favour of the reading adopted in the text, at least in this instance.

arrived at Chítór. But the Ráná had got there before him, and shut himself up in the fortress. On discovering this, and as the Ráísín affair was still unsettled, the Sultán decided not to attack Chítór then, but determined to do so when Ráísín was off his mind.

The Sultán fell back, and on reaching Barsiah he left Muhamad Sháh and 'Imád-ul-Mulk there, while he himself marched rapidly to Ráísín. When he arrived, the garrison lost all hope of relief, having sent, through some of the nobles, an humble message to say that, if the Sultán would send for Silhadí from Mandú, they would all come out to do homage to the Sultán and surrender the fortress to his servants. The Sultán knew that there were Muhamadan women in the fort, and he feared lest they should be burnt in a *jóhar*. Accordingly he did not press the siege, hoping to obtain possession of the fortress by peaceful means, and, in compliance with this request of the garrison, sent for Silhadí from Mandú. When he arrived, he obtained the Sultán's assurance that the garrison should receive quarter. He then sent into the fortress, and brought out Lakhman Sén, his brother, who made his obeisance before the Sultán, and, going back to the fort, he brought back several of the chief Hindús to visit the Sultán.* On taking leave, he assured the Sultán that Silhadí had seven or eight hundred women in his palace, of whom Durgávatí, the mother of Bhúpat, was the chief princess. She had averred that unless Silhadí himself came to fetch her, she would never set foot outside the house. An order was given that Malik 'Alí Shír, son of Kiwám-ul-Mulk, should conduct Silhadí into the place, and bring out his people.

* According to Firishtah, Lakhman Sén was acting straightforwardly in the matter, and had brought his own family out, and that Silhadí, too, went into the fort with every desire to promote its evacuation, but was turned from his purpose by the upbraidings of Durgávatí (whom Firishtah calls mother of Bhúpat and daughter of Ráná Sánká), which were directed against both himself and Lakhman Sén. The "Tab. Akbarí" gives much the same account, but both works have a somewhat unintelligible sentence about one Táj Khán, who was, apparently, acting with Lakhman Sén. There is probably some error or omission on this point.

They went inside together, and there 'Alí Shír saw that a large concourse of Rájpúts were assembled at the house of Silhadí. Silhadí sat down to confer with them, and they asked what the Sultán had given him in exchange for his own honourable position, and he told them the *sarkár* of Baródah. They said, "Silhadí, your life is drawing near its end, you have not long to live. Why should you wish to live, and, through fear of death, to cast your honour to the winds? Death is a thousand times better than this. We have thus resolved. We men will perish by the sword, and our women by the *jóhar*, that is, in the flames. Do you also, if you have the spirit, join us in this resolution." These persuasions and entreaties so wrought upon Silhadí that he yielded to their will. He called Malik 'Alí Shír, and showed him the chief women of his house. The Malik was amazed when he saw them assembled and himself in the midst. Silhadí told him that all his women and people had resolved to burn or be killed, and he was ashamed that they should perish and he himself, in his old age and with but a short life before him, should remain alive. He desired Malik 'Alí Shír to go back and tell the Sultán of the resolution they had come to. The Malik tried to dissuade him, but he would not listen, and as soon as the Malik was clear of the fort the Rájpúts prepared the *jóhar*, and made themselves ready for death.

Malik 'Alí Shír made his report, and the Sultán, being greatly incensed, gave orders for an attack to be made, under all the chief leaders, upon the fort on every side, and desired that as soon as the battering of the guns and the explosion of the mines had thrown down the wall and had made practicable breaches, the assault should be delivered. The Rájpúts made a stout resistance, but the soldiers of Islám forced their way in, sword in hand, and step by step. The Dakhiní infantry were especially distinguished, for by their fire, and entering by the breach which they had made by mining, and which was the easiest breach, they were the first to get inside the fort and

to slaughter the ill-fated Rájpúts. When the men of the garrison saw what was happening, they fired the *jóhar*, and burnt their women. They then rushed into the conflict, and were slain. It is said that seven hundred of Silhadí's women, and a daughter of the Rání, who was the wife of Bhúpat,* Silhadí's son, besides many other wives and daughters of Rájpúts, were all burnt together and reduced to dust and ashes. The Musulmáns lost four men. Many, also, of the wives and daughters of the Rájpúts who were not burnt in the *jóhar* were made captives.

All the Musulmán women who were in Silhadí's possession were forced into the fire and burnt. Only one, whom the Almighty preserved from the flames, escaped. It is said that the Sultán gave all the gold and silver which was collected from among the ashes of the women who were thus burnt to Burhán-ul-Mulk, who accepted it. But all honourable men condemned this acceptance, and said that it was not the act of a brave man. Burhán-ul-Mulk, however, considered himself justified in taking the gold, but he gave the whole of his booty in alms among the people of Gujarát.

The fort was taken on the last day of Ramzán A.H. 938 (10th May 1532). It is related that Silhadí, for some time after he was taken prisoner, steadfastly refused to become a Musulmán, and that he yielded only after very great pressure and persuasion. As a Musulmán he received the name of Saláh-ud-dín. Malik Burhán-ud-dín Baniání, who was a very wise and learned man, was ordered to teach Saláh-ud-dín the laws of the faith and the rules of prayer and fasting. It was the season of fasting (Ramzán) when Silhadí was converted, and he used to say that he had never enjoyed eating and drinking so much as since his conversion. One day he said to

* This passage is doubtful. If Durgávatí was a daughter of the Ráná Sánká, and Bhúpat's mother, he could hardly have married into that family also; probably "mother" should be read for "wife." The "Táríkh-i-Alfí" calls her so practically, and says she had a son but two months old, which seems unlikely. It is said expressly that Lakhman Sén fell with Silhadí.

Burhán-ul-Mulk, "My sins and offences are beyond all count. I have asked *Bráhmans, jogís, saniásís,* and all classes of holy men among the Hindús, if my sins could be pardoned, relating some of my evil deeds. All have assured me that such deeds were beyond all hope or chance of remission. I despaired, till one day I saw a *mullá,* and asked him. He answered, Yes! that there was a method of assuring remission of my sins, but that he dared not mention it. I pressed him to tell me, and then he said that if I became a Musulmán I should be absolved from all my offences and become pure as when I was first born. From that day I have had a desire to become a Musulmán, and what was fated has come to pass." It is said that the expenditure in Silhadí's household on women's dresses and perfumes exceeded that in any king's palace. He had four *akhárás,* that is to say, "bands" of dancing-girls, who were each unrivalled in their special art. Forty women held the torches while the dancing-girls performed. Every dancing-girl, moreover, had two attendants, one of whom held her *pán*-box, and the other poured sweet-scented oil on the torches, for they never burned any bad-smelling oil, nor any that was not odorous, that is, not scented with rose perfume. All the women's clothes were of gold brocade, or embroidered with gold.

After the conquest of Ráísín, all the territories which had been in Silhadí's possession, such as the *sarkárs* of Bhílsah, Chandérí, and other places, were granted to Sultán 'A'lam Lódí,*

* This is the second 'A'lam Khán of the family of Lódí mentioned in the present work (see note, p. 276). It is probable, from the account given in the text, that he was a son of Jalál Khán Lódí, the son of Sikandar Lódí, and brother of Sultán Ibráhím, who revolted against the latter, and eventually left his family at Kálpí, whence he fled to Málwah, shortly after which event he was captured and put to death. If 'A'lam Khán was his son, and thus abandoned at Kálpí, the Mughal governor would be very likely to take him into favour, the rather as his father was hostile to Ibráhím Lódí. He seems, in other histories, to be distinguished by the title of 'A'lam Khán Lódí Jagat or Jagá, while his great-uncle, 'A'lam Khán, the son of Bahlól Lódí, is usually termed Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín 'A'lam Khán Lódí. He was eventually left in (joint) command of the citadel of Mandú by Bahádar Sháh when he fled thence, and was taken prisoner when the citadel surrendered to the Emperor Humáiún. He was killed shortly afterwards, though there is some question as to the exact time and manner of his death, as to which more will be said in a further note. Of course, his reception and honourable treatment

a relative of Sultán Sikandar Lódí. The armies of the Emperor Humáiún had driven him out of the *sarkár* of Kálpí, and he came, with twelve thousand horse and many elephants, to seek refuge with the Sultán of Gujarát. His expulsion from Kálpí came about thus. Nizám 'Alí Khalífah, *wazír* of the Emperor Bábar, had adopted him as a son, and displayed towards him the warmest affection and the greatest kindness, and, in his extreme consideration for him, left him in possession of the *sarkár* of Kálpí. After the lapse of some years, during which Kálpí had been well ruled, it so happened that the Emperor Bábar died, and his son, the Emperor Humáiún, began to reign. At the commencement of his reign, in consequence of the want of unanimity and ill-feeling among his brothers, which Abúl Fazl has described in his "Akbar-námah," there was not complete peace or order throughout the kingdom. In his folly, Sultán 'A'lam Khán Lódí allowed himself to entertain ideas of rebellion and insurrection, and, deeming this to be a good opportunity, he put his designs in execution. When the Emperor Humáiún heard of it, he despatched Hindál Mirzá, who had not openly revolted against him, with several other chiefs of name, and a picked force, against Sultán 'A'lam Lódí, to bring him to account and to chastise him.

'A'lam Khán Lódí came to Lákampúr, which is a village in the environs of Kálpí, and there engaged Hindál Mirzá, and, in spite of a vast superiority of force,—since victory comes only of God,—he was defeated and put to flight, and took refuge with Sultán Bahádar. Sultán Bahádar, after the fall of Ráísín, sent an order to Muhamad Sháh A'sírí directing him to take possession of the town of Gágrún,* in which Mián Mehtah Búdaliah

by Bahádar Sháh was a further cause of offence to the Emperor Humáiún, against whom he had risen in rebellion under circumstances of peculiar ingratitude. The "Tab. Akbarí" says that these provinces were made over to *Sultán* 'A'lam, which appears to be a mistake, unless he too was termed "Sultán."

* It was the recapture, by Mahmúd Khiljí, of this fortress, and the death of Bhím Karan, its governor, which caused the war with Chitór which terminated so unfortunately for Mahmúd. After this it seems to have passed wholly out of Muhamadan hands.

lies buried, and which town had been fraudulently taken by the Ráná from Sultán Mahmúd. The Sultán himself went elephant-hunting in the direction of Góndwánah, and captured a great many of these animals. He took, also, the fort of Kánúr, which had fallen into the hands of the infidels in the reign of Sultán Násir-ud-dín of Dehlí,* and which Silhadí had several times in vain attempted to capture, but the Sultán took it in one day. He placed it under the authority of Alp Khán. He likewise brought under his authority Islámábád, Hoshangábád, and other dependencies of Málwah in that quarter, which had fallen into the hands of the *zamíndárs*. He returned thence to Sárangpúr, then to Agrú,† and from thence towards Gágrún, the fort of which place had not yet been reduced, but as soon as he arrived the place fell. He remained in the vicinity four days, and sent 'Imád-ul-Mulk to Mandisór. A few days after he sent Ikhtiár Khán the *wazír* to that place, and then Muhamad Sháh A'sírí. As soon as 'Imád-ul-Mulk arrived at Mandisór, the Ráná's officer, named Makú, evacuated the place, and retired. On the 1st of Shawál, 'Imád-ul-Mulk reduced Mandisór. The rainy season having set in, the Sultán left 'Imád-ul-Mulk, Muhamad Khán A'sírí, and Malik Shír, son of 'Azz-ul-Mulk, with the army at Mandisór, while he went to Mandú. At the end of the month those nobles, having settled the affairs of Mandisór, went to the Sultán at Mandú, having left Malik Shír, son of 'Azz-ul-Mulk, in charge of the fort of Mandisór. Muhamad Khán took leave of the Sultán, and went to A'sír, and the Sultán himself proceeded to his capital, and arrived at Muhamadábád on the 15th Safar.

Intelligence arrived that the Portuguese were coming with many ships, furnished with artillery and other warlike equipments, to attack the fort of Díú. The Sultán started immediately, and travelled night and day until he reached

* Possibly this is an error for "Násir-ud-dín of *Málwah*."
† "A'gar," north-west of Sárangpúr.

Kambháiat. Upon hearing of his approach, the Portuguese withdrew.* Sultán Bahádar went on to Díú, and from thence he sent to Muhamadábád a large Egyptian gun, which Rúmí Khán† had brought. He also sent a hundred other guns, to be employed in the siege of Chítór. It is said that, in addition to the numerous bullocks which were harnessed to that (large) gun, three hundred *káhárs*‡ in addition were required to start it. After having provided for the removal of the guns, he went back to Kambháiat, and from thence, with all speed, to Ahmadábád, where he paid a visit to the tombs of his ancestors; then he went to Batóh to visit his spiritual father, Sháh Shékh Jíú, and afterwards express in one day to Muhamadábád. There he took in marriage a daughter of Jám Fíróz of Sind.§

At Muhamadábád he enlisted several thousand approved and picked veteran soldiers; he also collected an incalculable supply of arms, artillery, and ammunition, and sent them to Mandú, under charge of skilful armourers, for the siege of Chítór. He gave orders to Muhamad Khán A'sírí to march with his army to Chítór, and he accordingly left A'sír for that place, and Khudáwand Khán *wazír*, who was at Mandú, was ordered to join him. When the guns and arms had reached Mandú, the Sultán started with the forces under his personal command from Muhamadábád on the 17th Rabí'-ul-ákhir, and travelled rapidly to Mandú, which he reached on the third day. Muhamad Sháh and Khudáwand Khán, who had come to Mandú before the Sultán arrived, were directed to proceed

* This was a very important struggle, and will be described more fully in the Appendix on Portuguese affairs in Gujarát, which it is hoped to give in Vol. II.

† Some MSS. have "Rúmián." This would mean the Turks of Constantinople, of whose aid mention has been made in writing of the victory gained by Malik A'iáz over the Portuguese. It is not clear who Rúmí Khán was. He pretty certainly came from Turkey, and may have originally been a European renegade. Firishtah, in one place, calls him "Lábrí Khán." The "Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah say that this gun was left behind by the *Portuguese*, but this seems unlikely, as it is called an Egyptian gun.

‡ *Káhárs*. A caste of Hindús who serve as *pálkí*-bearers, and carry loads suspended to bamboos, among other avocations. Probably the term here simply means "porters."

§ See note *ante*, p. 343.

on to Chítór. In a few days they reached Mandisór, where they were met by the *wakíls* of the Ráná, who stated: "Whatever the Ráná holds of the Málwah territory he will relinquish; whatever tribute may be imposed on him he will pay; whatever duty is imposed on him he will perform, and he acknowledges himself a subject of the Sultán, and will never be disobedient, but will submit himself to every ordinance of the Sultán, as is right and proper." Muhamad Sháh sent Shuja'at Khán to convey the Ráná's proposals to the Sultán, and Shuja'at Khán hastened to Mandú and reported the matter to Sultán Bahádar.

Sultán Bahádar, however, remembered the Ráná's rash and foolish doings in the matter of sending aid to Silhadí, and he had, therefore, resolved upon the conquest of Chítór, and rejected the Ráná's petition. He forwarded orders to Muhamad Sháh and Khudáwand Khán for them to send on in advance the Gujarátí and other veteran troops under Tátár Khán, son of Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín, son of Sultán Bahlól (of Dehlí), with instructions to invest Chítór, and they themselves were to follow with the guns and other siege-material. Tátár Khán* immediately marched. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" mentions that he accompanied this force. Tátár Khán expected that, as the Ráná had a large force at his disposal, he would offer battle and oppose his advance, but no opposition was made. On the 5th Rajab A.H. 939 (A.D. 1533) Tátár Khán took and plundered the suburb of the fort.† Next day he attacked the outer gate (*parkotah*), and carried that also. Chítór, from the bottom to the top has seven gates, and two of them were thus already taken. A despatch, announcing the success, was sent to the Sultán.

* This is the first mention here of Tátár Khán Lódí, the son of 'A'lam Khán Lódí (Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín). He seems to have revolted against the Emperor Bábar.

† *Talahti*, the *petta* or *bázár*, but inclosed, as it seems from the text, with a gate.

On the 8th of the month, Muhamad Sháh and Khudáwand Khán came up with the great guns and siege-train, and the fort was completely invested. The Sultán started from Mandú with an escort of five horsemen, and in a night and a day reached Chítór.* His army, numerous as ants or locusts, came up behind him, and the commanders all exerted themselves in every possible way to press on the siege, and in carrying forward and guarding the various means of approach against the fort. He himself, on arriving, rested one day, and on the next himself ascended the hill on which the fort of Chítór stands, and gave directions for bringing up and placing in position the battering-guns, and desired them to open on the fort and to endeavour to breach the defences. The great gun which had been brought from Díú, every time it was fired sent rocks tumbling down on rocks, and buildings upon buildings. It is said that the exertions of the Sultán in pressing on the siege were such as no soldier of the army could equal. Alaf Khán with thirty thousand horse had charge of the trenches before the Lakhotah gate. Tátár Khán, Médiní Ráo, and several Afghán chiefs were posted in front of the Hanwant gate. Mallú Khán and Sikandar Khán, with the nobles of Málwah and the Dakhiní soldiers, had charge of the Sapéd Burj, Bhúpat Rái and Alp Khán were posted on another side. The author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí" states that the Sultán had sufficient men and siege apparatus to have besieged four such places as Chítór.

The fortress being surrounded and attacked on every side, detachments were sent out to ravage the Ráná's country. They say that such skill as was shown by Rúmí Khán in the siege of Chítór had never before been seen or heard of, whether in getting the guns up the hill and into position or in working them, or in driving mines and raising covered ways. The infidel garrison soon were reduced to straits. The walls were shattered by the batteries on every side, and the garrison per-

* Say about two hundred miles.

ceived that the fort must soon fall. The mother of Bikamájít, and (once) chief wife* of Ráná Sánká, sent out *wakíls* to say, "My son has long served the Sultán. He went from this place to Gujarát, and paid his respects to the Sultán; I, therefore, as an aged woman, humbly beg that the Sultán will forgive his faults, and, as my life is bound up in his, by granting his life the Sultán will also renew mine, and confer on him an incalculable boon. Henceforth he will be faithful and devoted in service; he will not be disobedient in any matter, and will faithfully and energetically do his duty wherever he may be ordered. Several towns of the territory of Mandú have been in his possession since the time of Sultán Mahmúd Khiljí; those he offers to surrender. The golden girdle and the jewelled crown and cap which belonged to Sultán Mahmúd, the value of which jewellers are unable to estimate, these which were won on the day of the victory over that Sultán, and one hundred *lakhs* of *tankahs*, and a hundred horses with gold-worked bridles, and ten elephants, he presents as tribute to your Majesty." The Sultán considered it politic, under the circumstances, to accede to these proposals. He had regard, moreover, to the prayer of the Ráná's mother, and remembered the service which she had rendered to him when she withheld the Rájpúts from destroying him, by threatening to take her own life, when he was in his youthful days a fugitive from his brother, Sikandar Khán, and killed the Ráná's nephew at the feast.† On the 27th Sha'bán (24th March 1533) he received the promised tribute and removed his camp one march from Chítór.

From thence he sent Burhán-ul-Mulk and Mujáhíd Khán

* This may be the case; but if Tod's chronology be correct, Bikamájít was not yet Ráná. This lady may, however, have been the Queen who saved Bahádar Sháh's life as a young man, when he visited Chítór. But in all probability there is a mistake in the text; and for Bikamájít, "Ratan Sí" or "Ratna" should be substituted.

† See note (*) above. It is to be remembered, in justice to Bahádar Sháh, that before he attacked Chítór the second time Ratan Sí was dead, and he had been succeeded by Bikamájít, who was probably *not* the son of the lady who had saved his life.

with a large army to effect the conquest of the iron-bound fortress of Rantambhór and its dependencies; and he also sent Shamshír-ul-Mulk, with twelve other *sardárs* and a numerous army, to reduce the fortress of Ajmír, the *Dár-ul-khair*, or home of goodness. On the 5th of Ramazán he sent off his army towards Mandú, and himself started for Mandisór, where he made a day's halt, and from thence he went on express to Mandú, accomplishing the distance of eighty *kós* in a night and a day, and his army followed, and, arriving there on the 18th of the month, enjoyed rest and ease.

After a while he appointed Muhamad Sháh Fárúkí, with several other famous Gujarátí nobles, to unite their forces with those of 'Imád-ul-Mulk Gáwelí, for the purpose of driving away Nizám-ul-Mulk and laying waste his dominions. They were ordered not to fight a battle, but, if Nizám-ul-Mulk showed a disposition to fight, they were to delay and amuse him with negotiations, and write to the Sultán, so that he might hasten to his army and himself take that creature of the *bázár* (*i.e.* Nizám-ul-Mulk) alive.

In obedience to these instructions Muhamad Sháh marched to the neighbourhood of Bír, where he confronted Nizám-ul-Mulk and Malik Baríd, who had got together a very large army. He sent off a report by fleet messengers to the Sultán, who quickly mounted his famous horse, named Kuchak, which was swift of foot as the wind, and, taking with him twelve thousand chosen light horse from his personal troops, went off at once and pushed on without a halt. When he reached Bír, the troops on either side were formed up in line of battle, and they had already on both sides opened the attack with a fire of heavy guns and of musketry. Loud cries announced the arrival of the Sultán with his forces, and his men made known his arrival to each other. When the shouts made the fact known to the enemy, they immediately fled, and many of them were slain. In the royal army two sons of Dariá Khán, named Man-Jíú and Pír Jíú, were severely

wounded. They were borne alive from the field, and the Sultán showed them great kindness, and confirmed to the elder the title of his father, and a *jágír* besides. He said: "Whoever wishes to bear his father's title must win it as these young men have won it." After some time Nizám-ul-Mulk came to visit the Sultán, and "placed the ring of obedience in his ear." The Sultán addressed him by the title of Nizám Sháh, of which title mention has already been made, and restored his kingdom to him. Sultán Bahádar returned to Mandú, and Nizám Sháh went in attendance upon him. When Sultán Bahádar reached Mandú the ambition of conquering Chítór again took possession of him.

Muhamad Zamán Mirzá, grandson of Sultán Husain Báíkrah, King of Khurásán, had married Ma'súmah Begam, daughter of *Firdaus makání* (the Emperor Bábar) and sister of *Jannat áshiání* (the Emperor Humáiún). He was a prince by seven generations of royal descent, and frequently asserted hostile and vain pretensions. For this cause he had been placed in imprisonment at A'grah by Humáiún; not imprisonment in chains and in close confinement, but he was not allowed full liberty to go about, and was placed under the surveillance of Báiázíd Khán Afghán. When the report of Sultán Bahádar's doings reached Zamán Mirzá's ears, he formed the design of going to him, but, for fear of his keepers, kept his purpose concealed. One day, however, Báiázíd Khán came to visit him in a state of drunken hilarity, and said that he pitied him, for life with his children was sweet, and nothing could replace it. Zamán Mirzá at first thought that the man was sounding him, and trying to discover his intentions; so he gave an evasive answer. But when he was convinced by Báiázíd's straightforward language that he was perfectly sincere, he said, "If only I could once get away to Sultán Bahádar of Gujarát, I feel sure that I should get everything I may want." Báiázíd encouraged him to contrive an escape; and one day, taking advantage of favourable circumstances, he fled and took refuge

with Sultán Bahádar. He thus sowed the seed of animosity in the relations between the Sultán and the Emperor Humáiún. Several letters passed between these sovereigns on the subject of the protection thus afforded to Zamán Mirzá. Trusty mediators came and went between the two Courts, but without any avail. The first letter from (Humáiún) urged the Sultán to act in an amicable spirit; the second expressed surprise at Sultán Bahádar's unfriendly conduct. The third has been preserved, and is here given at length*; it is as follows:—

"Glory to God, the giver of glory, and praise be to the Prophet of God. When Kází 'Abd-ul-Kádir and Muhamad Mokím arrived at this Court, their assurances of your Majesty's faithfulness and loyalty pleased and gratified our discerning heart. A friendly disposition like your Majesty's is the cause of union among friends, and of the prosperity of cities and towns. It must be clear to your Majesty's intellect, which is bright as the sun and without defect, that one ought to obey sacred texts, and to follow worthy sayings, as being infallible guides. Formerly, we despatched Asláh-ul-Mulk and Kásim 'Alí Sadr and Ghiás-ud-dín Kúrjí with a message to say that, if your Majesty behaved in a straightforward way, you ought to deliver over to us those ungrateful persons who, having revolted against us, had fled to you; or that at least you should drive that rebel band from your presence, and expel them beyond the limits of your kingdom and authority; and that, if your Majesty acted up to your professions and assurances of friendship, hereafter none of those who are my friends and allies would be led away by

* There is no reason to doubt that these letters are reproductions, at least fairly accurate, of the letters which actually passed between the Emperor Humáiún and Bahádar Sháh. The historical references and the indications of the character of their respective writers are quite in harmony with the actual facts. They have, moreover, been preserved in at least one collection of celebrated letters (Persian MSS. British Museum, Addit. MSS., No. 7688; Rieu's Catalogue, vol. i. p. 390). The language of these letters is florid and full of metaphor, which it is hardly possible to translate literally; the version, therefore, in the text is to a great extent rather a paraphrase than a translation, but an endeavour has been made to preserve the meaning of each part.

the enticements of seducers, and of those who have gone a from the truth. In despatching these messengers to Majesty, we had full expectation that they would bring ba befitting answer, such as would remove all ill-feeling restore complete friendship. When they returned with I Muhamad Khalíl to my Court, and brought back your let the substance of what they said and the contents of the let filled me with astonishment. Your Majesty must sure understand what has been said to you in regard to Muhama Zamán Mirzá, and though the favour shown by you to the lat Sultán Sikandar, and the extraordinarily favourable receptio accorded by you to 'Alá-ud-dín Lódí, and the several othe (Lódí) princes, has not altogether broken up our friendshi and amity, yet, if Muhamad Zamán Mirzá remains where h is, and receives kind treatment from you, what must happen It is unnecessary to *say* what, for it is easily guessed, and you have no doubt considered it. Let it not, however, be forgotten that your Majesty is bound by your promises and engagements, and in all good faith, to listen to my requests, and either to send those miserable people here, or at least to refrain from showing them any favour, and to expel them from your country. As this is so, it will afford an absolute test as to whether your heart is in accordance with the assurances which your tongue has given; if so, you will not allow these miserable people to remain in your presence or in your territories. If you do, how can any reliance be placed on your promises?

> "Thy tongue professes friendship true,
> Be sure thy heart is friendly too;
> All cause of enmity uproot,
> And let thy friendship's plant bear fruit.

"Perhaps your Majesty is aware that His Highness the late Sáhib-i-Kirán (Tímúr), in spite of the hostility shown to him by Báiázíd Ilderím, was very unwilling to invade Rúm, and to lay desolate that well-cultivated land, because Báiázíd Ilderím

was generally engaged in religious warfare with the Europeans. But when Karâ Yúsaf* Turkomán, and Sultán Ahmad Jaláir fled before his (Tímúr's) victorious troops and sought refuge with the Kaisar of Rúm,† Tímúr wrote several times to Báiázíd Ilderím, warning him not to show them any favour, and directing him to expel them from his kingdom; but as Báiázíd Ilderím would not obey this order, what was decreed came to pass, and he experienced the consequences!

"Since Muhamad Mokím, in conveying your reply to our last communication, reported some unseemly expression, therefore, in case any unpleasant messages or improper acts should be reported to us, we shall march from our capital in your direction, until we receive a satisfactory reply. We despatch these few hurried lines by Nauróz Bég and Shékh Ibráhím, confidential officers of this Court. When you have considered their contents, be kind enough quickly to dismiss the messengers, as I anxiously await an answer.

He who is righteously inclined
Needs but a pull to guide his mind.

Peace be with you."

Sultán Bahádar's reply was as follows:—

"I return thanks to your gracious Majesty, and wish you all compliments and peace. The message which your Majesty despatched, your confidential courtier, Muhamad Núr, has brought; and he has also delivered your letter concerning the protection shown to the princes. Amongst other things, it is written that Kásim 'Alí Khán and Ghiás-ud-dín were sent to assure me that the expulsion of the persons sheltered here from my dominions would prove my loyalty and sincerity.

* See Tímúr's own account and his own letters reproduced in his "Institutes," Davey's "Institutes of Tímúr," pp. 145–53. He only speaks, however, of Karâ Yúsaf Turkomán.

† "Kaisar of Rúm." This expression, the special designation of the Byzantine Emperor only, is nevertheless correctly applied in this instance, as Báiázíd Ilderím assumed the title upon the consolidation of the kingdom of Anatolia; but its use as a Muhamadan designation ceased also with him.

This is absolutely and wholly incorrect. Those ambassadors never said a word about anything except as to the confirmation and strengthening of our alliance; and if from their representations you have understood anything, or suspected anything, you should not have acted upon it by marching on Gwáliár. What (bad) design or object could I have? Everybody is aware that I have been long bound by the ties of friendship with the Prince Jalál-ud-duniá-wa-ud-dín Muhamad Zamán Mirzá. We have confirmed our friendship by solemn oaths; and since he was my friend I could not, in violation of my oath, act in a false and unfaithful manner towards him. Moreover, he knew from the common report of all the world, how my ancestors had taken countries and given away thrones, and how, when Mahmúd Khiljí sought refuge at this Court from the disorders and usurpations of the Hindús, Muzaffar Sháh the Clement received him with extreme kindness and favour, and when he had recounted the oppressions which he had suffered at the hands of wretched traitors, and had represented that it was in accordance with the holy traditions, and with the words of the holy Prophet himself, to show kindness to those who suffered from tyranny, Muzaffar considered it his duty to assist him, and to punish those base Hindús. He accordingly destroyed them and theirs from off the face of the earth. Muhamad Zamán, therefore, hoped that by favour of Providence his affairs also might be put in order. Moreover, Kází 'Abd-ul-Kádir and Ghiás-ud-dín, without suggestion or requisition on my part, and of their own free will and accord, took an oath on the holy writings in confirmation of our friendship and amity. Hence I fully understood that we were firm friends, and, relying on the good faith of the people of Islám, I thought myself perfectly safe from any danger on your side, and began, therefore, to take means for opposing and expelling a naval expedition of the Europeans which had landed at Díú. But they (*i.e.* 'Abd-ul-Kádir and Ghiás-ud-dín) supposing the opportunity to be a favourable one, and thinking

that I was entangled with difficulties, caring nothing for the infraction of their promises and engagements, have brought our amity and friendship into doubt; and, relying on my unprepared and unguarded condition, have induced your Majesty to march upon Gwáliár. When Nuwáb Kámiáb heard this news he refrained from attacking Díú, against which he had marched, as he considered himself (under the circumstances) unequal to attempting so serious an undertaking, and accordingly returned to his original position. Moreover, the *khutbah* used to be read in my name in several countries where they now excuse themselves from doing so, being prompted to this course by the intelligence of your speedy coming; and although these people have not openly revolted, yet they are rebellious at heart, and their rebellion is almost avowed. Their letters, indeed, show abundant signs of it. For example, from Bidar they write in the most boastful terms and display their disposition and designs, although their object is not yet so fully assured that they dare speak or write of it. If your object be to spread rumours and idle tales, could it be better done than by repeating them at afternoon prayers to the roysterers of the *bázárs*. I set forth these things as a specimen of my affairs, in the anguish of my heart, and as a warning. What need is there of fresh designs? for I have, in the immediate past, been treated by you in a manner wholly unheard-of and unexampled in history.

" Unless your courage match your tongue,
Your prowess best were left unsung;
If you 've no sword yourself, my lad,
Don't vaunt the sword your father had
Nor risk on wooden stilts a fall,
That little boys may think you tall.

" Everyone knows that up to the present time, by the favour of Providence, no king has been able to conquer or overthrow our dynasty, however great such king's forces were; and I myself have encountered a very considerable Afghán force.

Let your Majesty banish pride from your mind. It will not be long before the great God reveals His decree."

It is said that Sultán Bahádar was unable to read or write, and this answer to the Emperor Humáiún's letter was written by one, Mullá Mahmúd Munshí, and that the Sultán ordered it to be despatched without ascertaining whether it was courteous or rude.* This Mullá Mahmúd Munshí had once been in the employ of the Emperor Humáiún, and had been guilty of some act which greatly incensed the Emperor; on learning this, he left his post and fled for refuge to Sultán Bahádar, who engaged him as a *munshí*. The whole of the correspondence between the Emperor and the Sultán Bahádar was conducted by him, and he used, out of spite and hatred, purposely to take the opportunity of inserting irritating expressions, and he used to boast among his companions that he would either induce Sultán Bahádar to attack Dehlí, or bring down the Emperor Humáiún on Sultán Bahádar. Every disgrace that fell upon the Sultán's administration, and all the calamities which affected his fortunes, were due to the scribblings of this insolent man. In this correspondence with the Emperor Humáiún he did not desist from this line of conduct; but, as the Sultán had wise and prudent *wazírs*, when they sent for the rough drafts they would erase all the improper words and expressions. When the Emperor made his third request for the extradition of Muhamad Zamán Mirzá, Mullá Mahmúd Munshí brought the answer to the Sultán and read it to him when he was drunk; and, as the Sultán was intoxicated, he directed it to be despatched without ascertaining whether it was courteous or the reverse, and without consulting his ministers. Mullá Mahmúd affixed the king's seal and sent it off at once. Next morning the *wazírs* and nobles assembled in *darbár*, and some of them remarked that it was expedient to answer

* This passage is given as in the Hyderábád MS., which seems here fuller than the other texts.

the letter which the Emperor Humáiún's messengers had brought the day before. The Sultán replied that he had ordered a *munshí* to write a reply, and to send back the messengers at once. The *wazírs* asked to see the rough draft, and, when they had made themselves acquainted with its purport, they expressed their regret and alarm. The Sultán then understood the grave mistake of this reply, and ordered Malik Amín Nas, who was a follower of one of the *wazírs*, to send a well-mounted horseman after the couriers and to bring them back. Malik Amín brought to the Sultán, Abú Jíú Tánk, who in the reign of Sultán Ahmad II. became Wajíh-ul-Mulk. The Sultán said to him, "You belong to my tribe, and I want you to ride after the messengers and bring them back before they can get through the pass in the mountains of Narwar." Abú Jíú mounted a swift horse and galloped off. When he reached the pass he learnt from the guards that the couriers had not gone through, and he was much delighted and watched for them there three days and nights, but as they did not make their appearance it became evident that they had gone by some other road; so he said, "What can be done! it was so fated." So he returned and told the Sultán. When those who were about the Sultán heard what had happened, they said, "If that letter reaches the Emperor he will at once march against us."

After this the Sultán marched from Mandú to effect the conquest of Chítór. He left the direction of the siege to Rúmí Khán, and, to encourage him, promised that the full command of the fortress, after its reduction, should be placed in his charge. Rúmí Khán exerted himself in a way never before seen in the world.

When the Sultán's letter reached the Emperor Humáiún it produced a very bad impression. He directed his army to march from A'grah towards Chítór. When he came to Gwáliár he reflected thus, "Sultán Bahádar is besieging Chítór. If I at this time oppose him, I shall really be render-

ing assistance to the infidel, and such a proceeding is not in accordance with the law of the Prophet and with religion therefore there must be a delay until this matter is disposed of." Accordingly he halted at Gwáliár, watching the course of events.

Sultán Bahádar, when he was informed of this movement of Humáiún's, placed thirty thousand horse under the command of Tátár Khán Lódí, grandson of the late Sultán Sikandar Lódí, with orders to march by way of Báiánah against the city of Dehlí, the capital of India, and to take possession of it, in order that either Humáiún might be compelled to draw off his forces to oppose Tátár Khán, or else, if left unopposed, Tátár Khán would get possession of Dehlí, and there would raise a large army and march against Humáiún: in either case the Sultán's purpose would be served. Tátár Khán's orders were that, whether Humáiún himself should oppose him or should send an army against him, he was to fortify his camp and wait for the arrival of the Sultán, who would hasten up as quickly as possible, and he was strictly enjoined not to risk a battle before then.

Tátár Khán entered the district of Báiánah. He was soon confronted by Mirzá Hindál, whom Humáiún had sent against him with five thousand men.* In spite of the strict injunctions of the Sultán, Tátár Khán without hesitation gave battle, and was shamefully defeated. His army was scattered and dispersed, but he himself would not leave the field, and fought bravely on as long as there was life in his body, and fell at last and died, covered with blood and dust.† It is said that Tátár Khán's conception was that, as he was a prince of the house of Dehlí, and the head of his tribe, and as he had an army under his command, victory in this engagement would bring the

* According to the "Tab. Akbarí," his army deserted him, except two thousand men; and Firishtah says the deserters were "the boasting and dastardly Afgháns," Tátár Khán's own countrymen.

† MS. A. gives a long and highly-wrought account of Tátár Khán's desperate struggle.

kingdom of Dehlí into his possession, and a large army of Afgháns would rally round him. Humáiún Pádsháh and Sultán Bahádar would in the meanwhile fight; one would be defeated, and the power of the other would be weakened. Then he would be able to free himself from his engagements, and the reins of power at Dehlí would be in his hands. With these views he disobeyed the order of the Sultán and fought a battle without delaying; thus his own bad faith brought him to destruction.

It is related that when the garrison of Chítór was reduced to extremities and the fall of the fortress could evidently be no longer delayed, the Sultán began to talk boastfully, and said, "Who is there who can oppose or overthrow me?" Kází Mahmúd, son of Kází Já-bulandah of Bírpúr repeated these lines:—

When the jungle of tigers is wholly bare,
Hunting becomes a somewhat lame affair.

The Sultán, on hearing these lines was very angry, and said, "That man shall not remain in my dominions." The Kází replied, "By the kingdom of God! neither you nor I will remain in this kingdom." The Kází went thence, and when he came to Bírpúr he died in the year nine hundred and forty-one. He was a man highly respected on account of his ancestors, and was also a beloved disciple of Shékh Jíú, son of Sáíd Burhán-ud-dín Bukhárí.

The defeat of Tátár Khán greatly grieved and depressed the Sultán, and his pride was humiliated, but just then the conquest of Chítór was accomplished. The Sultán was desirous of fulfilling his promise to Rúmí Khán and of placing him in command of the fortress. But the ministers and nobles were jealous, and urged that such a man as Rúmí Khán ought not to be placed over so great a fortress; for if he should become master of it, obedience and fidelity could not be expected of him. The Sultán changed his mind and did not perform his promise. Rúmí Khán was deeply offended, and he wrote

secretly to the Emperor Humáiún and informed him that, if he would march in that direction, the defeat of Sultán Bahádar might easily be compassed; "for," he wrote, "the Sultán places entire reliance on my judgment, and I will contrive a way for the success of the Emperor's army."

The Emperor marched towards Chítór from Gwáliár, and when Sultán Bahádar heard of his advance he asked advice of Rúmí Khán as to the best means of opposing the enemy. Rúmí Khán replied that he should adopt the practice of the Sultáns of Rúm, and make a rampart round his camp with carts and guns. If the enemy attacked, he might open such a fire upon his assailants as would shatter them even if they were rocks of iron. The Sultán followed Rúmí Khan's advice. The *amírs* remonstrated, saying that they were not accustomed to that mode of fighting, but the Sultán would not listen. He made a bulwark of his carriages and withdrew within it; but his men lost heart, and the Emperor's men were proportionately encouraged.

When Humáiún drew near, Rúmí Khán wrote to inform him that Sultán Bahádar was posted within a rampart of carts, and advised him to send out his light horse to hover around it and not allow any creature to pass either in or out. The Emperor acted on this advice. The horsemen surrounded the camp upon all sides, and the roads were closed. When this state of things had lasted some days, grain grew scarce, and by degrees was entirely exhausted. Cows, horses, and camels were slaughtered, and the men fed upon them for some days; but the horses were so thin from want of fodder that the flesh of four horses would not satisfy two men. Butter and such-like rose to a fabulous price. The horses gnawed each other's tails and manes, and died. The men were in extremity, and the Sultán was bewildered.

At this juncture a leader of *Banjárahs* came and told the Sultán that they had brought one million bullock-loads of grain, but could not bring in the corn for fear of the Moghal

horse. If an escort were sent out, the grain might be got into the camp, and they would bring more afterwards. The Sultán sent out five thousand horse secretly at night, and Rúmí Khán wrote to inform Humáiún, adding that if the corn reached the camp it would protract the business very much. A large force was directed to intercept the escort sent out by the Sultán. It succeeded, and, having defeated the Gujarátís, brought the grain into the camp of Humáiún. On the publication of this news the Sultán's army lost all courage, the rather that the Sultán would not so much as drink a drop of water without consulting Rúmí Khán, although the perfidy of the latter was palpable. At last Rúmí Khán himself saw that this was the case, and fled to the Emperor Humáiún. His desertion made all the Gujarátís tremble as if the Day of Judgment were at hand.

One day some chief of the enemy's side advanced towards the Sultán's camp, with a small party and an elephant carrying a litter. A force from the Sultán's army sallied out and charged them; the enemy fled without fighting, and the elephant was captured. When they brought it to the Sultán for inspection, they found in the litter a small box. The courtiers remonstrated against opening the box, because they thought that the flight of the enemy and the abandonment of the elephant had occurred designedly. However, the Sultán, who had just learned that there was no more grain left than would suffice for that day's consumption, ordered the box to be opened. There proved to be nothing in it, except a little salt, a few lumps of charcoal, and some strips of linen dyed blue.

The Sultán and the army gave up all for lost, and that evening the Sultán ordered all his precious stones and jewels to be brought and destroyed by fire. He also desired that the trunks of his two favourite hunting elephants should be cut off, and that his two largest mortars, called "Laílí" and "Majnún," should be broken up. When the elephants came up to have

their trunks cut off, his eyes, and the eyes of all present, filled with tears. After this he called for his horse, and, unknown to the army, rode off to Mandú with a few personal followers. This was on the 20th Ramazán, A.H. 941 (25th March, A.D. 1535). In the morning news of the Sultán's departure came upon the army like the Last Trump. The army was like a body without a soul. No way of escape existed; to remain was impossible. Meanwhile the Emperor Humáiún's army advanced. When this was perceived, all order and discipline were lost, and everyone was in utter consternation. The entire camp was plundered, and many of the troops were killed, others taken prisoners, while some escaped barefoot and bareheaded. When the Emperor came to the Sultán's tents, which were all loaded with embroidery and interwoven with gold, he said, "These are the equipments of the Lord of the Sea"; for Sultán Sikandar Lódí used to say that the throne of Dehlí rests on wheat and barley, and that of Gujarát on coral and pearls, because the King of Gujarát ruled over eighty-four ports.

The humble Sikandar, the author of this work, well remembers that his father told him that he accompanied the Emperor Humáiún on this occasion, and had charge of his library. While the plunder of Sultán Bahádar's camp was going on, he kept the author of the "Táríkh-i-Bahádar Sháhí," with whom he had some previous acquaintance, as a guest in his own tent. He said that the Emperor Humáiún was continually calling for one book or another, so that he was obliged to be constantly in attendance; and on this day, when the victory was complete, the Emperor seated himself on his throne and held a general reception. Everyone who was present, nobles or soldiers, all stood before him with their arms folded. There was a parrot which had been found among the plunder in Sultán Bahádar's camp, and which somebody had brought in its cage and presented to the Emperor, who was amazed at the words it uttered, and would himself talk with

it. They say that if the parrot of the *Totí-námah* had been present, this parrot would have surpassed it. Presently Rúmí Khán entered, and the Emperor said kindly to him, "Rúmí Khán, come here." The instant the parrot heard the name of Rúmí Khán, it began to call out in Hindí, "That scoundrel Rúmí Khán! that traitor Rúmí Khán!" It uttered these execrations some ten times over; Rúmí Khán hung down his head, and said nothing. When the Emperor understood the meaning of these expressions, his regret and annoyance were manifest in his countenance; and he said, "Rúmí Khán, if any sensible being had said this, I would have plucked his tongue from his throat; but, as it is a senseless animal, what can I do?" The bystanders supposed that after Rúmí Khán's flight from Sultán Bahádar's camp, the men of his army were accustomed to speak of Rúmí Khán after this fashion; and that when the parrot heard the name of Rúmí Khán, he recollected these expressions and gave them utterance. Perhaps, rather, the Lord Almighty, as a warning to others, put these righteous words into the mouth of an animal; and his reason for this may have been that it would have been impossible, under the circumstances, for such words to have been spoken of Rúmí Khán, in his presence, in any other manner.

The Emperor Humáiún, after a short delay to collect the spoil which had fallen into his hands, marched thence and invested Mandú. Sultán Bahádar was shut up in the fort, the flames of hostility broke out anew, and the conflict waxed brisk. Rúmí Khán, adding to his other treasons, sent a message to Bhúpat Rái, the son of Silhadi, to this effect: "You well know the wrongs which Sultán Bahádar inflicted upon your kindred, and that you should now throw away the life which is so sweet to you, in the service of such a tyrant, is the reverse of wise. The opportunity for revenge and retribution has arrived. When the attack is made, throw open the gate of which you have charge; the servants of the Emperor

will restore to you the position of your father, and will, moreover, bestow on you favours of every kind." Thus seduced by Rúmí Khán, Bhúpat Rái threw open the gate, and, drawing his troops off, permitted the besiegers to effect an entrance. When Sultán Bahádar was told, he said: "The men of old were not mistaken when they said that to kill the snake and to keep the young alive is not a wise man's act." He deputed Sadr Khán, son of Rájí Khán, to act in his own command, and directed Sultán 'A'lam Lódí and Sáid Mubárak to hold the Sanga, which is the citadel of Mandú. He then went out by another gate, and made off towards Gujarát. Some of the Emperor Humáiún's men pursued and overtook him, but he turned round and personally fought with such vigour that his pursuers were defeated and driven back. The Emperor's forces soon afterwards entered the fort, which was captured, and Sadr Khán, who was severely wounded, was taken alive, but put to the sword. An attack was then made on the citadel, and the garrison was reduced to extremities. Sultán 'A'lam came out and surrendered to the Pádsháh, but, at the instigation of Rúmí Khán, he and three hundred of his people were slain. It is said that on Tuesday Humáiún put on a red dress, and in a public audience gave orders for a general massacre. In a moment streams of blood were flowing in every street and lane in Mandú.

There was a minstrel named Bachhú* attached to Sultán Bahádar's Court. A certain Moghal seized this Bachhú, and was about to kill him, having actually raised his hand with that intention. Bachhú said to him, "What advantage will you get by killing me? If you will save me alive I will give you my own weight of gold, for I belong to Sultán Bahádar's Court, and have no lack of money." The Moghal took his turban off his head, and tying Bachhú's hands together, made him sit down apart in a corner. It so happened that one of

* This name is very variously spelt, but it seems to be either Bachhú or Chittú.

the *rájahs*, who was in alliance with the Emperor, and who was an old friend of Bachhú's, passed by, and, observing him, jumped off his horse to inquire, and, taking Bachhú by the hand, was leading him away, when the Moghal drew his sword and said: "The order for a general massacre has been given: I will not let this man go alive." But the Rájah had a strong party, and the Moghal was alone; so, in spite of his protests, the Rájah carried off Bachhú, and brought him into the Emperor's presence. When they got there they found the Emperor so overcome with rage that he darted fire wherever he looked, and he could talk of nothing but slaughter. The Moghal made his complaint to the Emperor, saying: "This captive of mine belongs to Sultán Bahádar's Court, and this Hindú has carried him off by force." Khushhál Bég, who was one of the Emperor's Guards, had been once sent on a message to Sultán Bahádar, and was acquainted with Bachhú's position and accomplishments; so he said, "My King, this man is Bachhú the minstrel, the prince of all singers." The Emperor looked sharply towards him, and he repeated his words, and added: "O King, he has probably no equal as a singer and reciter in all Hindústán." The Emperor's fury began to abate; so he said, "Sing something." Bachhú was especially skilled in Persian sentimental ditties; he began to sing one of these. When the Emperor heard it his whole demeanour changed, and the rivers of his mercy began to flow. He put off his red dress and put on a green one; and, having bestowed a dress of honour on Bachhú, said to him, "Bachhú, ask whatever you wish, I will not deny it to you." Bachhú replied that many of his kinsmen had been made prisoners, and he desired their release. The Emperor bound his own quiver about Bachhú's loins, put him on one of his own horses, and desired that whomsoever Bachhú might release, no one was to interfere with them. Bachhú rode off, and whenever he saw any of his acquaintances he declared them to be his kinsfolk, and released them. This was reported to the

Emperor, and complaint was made that Bachhú released not only his kinsmen, but those who were perfect strangers, and did this purposely, making no difference between those who were akin to him and those who were otherwise. The Emperor said, "Let it pass. If to-day he had asked me to restore the kingdom to Bahádar, I should not have refused his request." Bachhú was taken into the Emperor's service, and it is said that every gift which he received while in the Emperor's employ he made over to the Moghal, and said regarding this: "This man gave me my life; how can I make him any sufficient return for that?"

I had these particulars from my father, who was present on this occasion as one of the Emperor's selected attendants. In the end, Bachhú ran away and went to Sultán Bahádar. The Emperor remarked, "Bachhú has done very foolishly. I was so fond of him, and should have treated him so well, that he ought to have forgotten Sultán Bahádar." They say that when he came to Sultán Bahádar, the latter monarch exclaimed: "To-day I have regained all I had lost! and the sight of Bachhú has banished all grief and sorrow from my heart. I have now no desire unfulfilled. God has given me all that I have asked of Him."

Sultán Bahádar fled from Mandú to Chámpánír, a fort belonging to Gujarát. Having placed it in charge of Ikhtiár Khán *wazír*, and Rájah Nar Sing Déo, entitled Khánhá Rájah, he went off to Sórath by way of Kambháiat, and took up his abode at the port of Díú.

Humáiún marched from Mandú to Chámpánír, and laid siege to the fort.* There was a large mortar, called Bahádar Sháh's mortar, there. The men of the garrison were unable to get it up into the fort. They had laboured hard to do so, but had got it only half-way up when the banner of Humáiún

* When Humáiún arrived at Chámpánír he hastened on to Kambháiat. Sultán Bahádar had obtained fresh horses there, and went on to Díú. Humáiún arrived at Kambháiat on the very day he left, and he returned from thence to the siege of Chámpánír.—"Tab. Akbarí."

came in sight. Then they knocked three holes in the mortar and left it where it was. Rúmí Khán saw it, and told Humáiún that he could mend it. He filled the three holes with *haft-jósh*. Although its range was less than before, it was still very effective. It is said that the first shot which Rúmí Khán discharged brought down a gate of the fort. The second tore up and utterly destroyed a great fig-tree which stood near the gate. These results greatly terrified the garrison.

There was in the fort a Firangí named Saktá, whom Sultán Bahádar had converted to Islám, and to whom he had given the title of Firang Khán. This man said, "I also will take a shot, and hit the muzzle of that mortar." Ikhtiár Khán promised to reward him if he succeeded. He fired, and the first shot struck the mortar on the muzzle and shattered it. The men in the fort were delighted. Ikhtiár Khán gave Firang Khán some trifle, but Rájah Nar Sing Déo gave him seven *mans* of gold. The Rájah had been left in the fort by Sultán Bahádar because he was badly wounded and unfit to travel. When the noise of the cannonade became general, his wounds grew worse, and he died. Sultán Bahádar, on being told of it, said, "Alas! Chámpánír is lost." The *wazír* Afzal Khán inquired if he had received news of it, and he replied, "No; but Nar Sing is dead, and whence will that wretched *mullá* Ikhtiár Khán find courage to hold out?"

Sáid Jalál, entitled Manowar-ul-Mulk Bukhárí, one of my most intimate friends, often said that the fort of Chámpánír was such that, if an old woman threw stones from the top, no one in the world could attack it. How great then was the good fortune of Humáiún to take such a fort with ease! The way in which it was taken was this. One night two hundred Kólís were sent out of the fort to bring in grain, although the provisions in the fort were sufficient against a siege of ten years. When they came down out of the fort they came

across one of the trenches and were all made prisoners; they were taken before the Emperor Humáiún, who gave orders for their execution. Seventy or eighty had been killed when one of the remainder said, "If you do not kill us we will show you a way of getting into the fort without the garrison knowing anything about it." This was reported to Humáiún, and he ordered that the Kólís should be brought before him. He spoke to them kindly, and told them to take some of his brave men under their guidance. At night the wretched Kólís led the soldiers to the top of the fort by a way which was unknown alike to the besiegers and besieged. They got up when the garrison was off its guard, and as soon as they got up, the soldiers, shouting "Allah! Allah!" charged the garrison. The latter were astounded, and to them it seemed as if their assailants had come down from heaven. Some threw themselves down the mountain, some were killed, and some fled with Ikhtiár Khán into the citadel called Múliyah. Humáiún's forces took possession of the fortress itself, and on the next day Ikhtiár Khán asked for quarter and surrendered the citadel. Ikhtiár Khán made his obeisance. He was a clever and learned man, of a happy temper, an astronomer, clever at riddles, a poet, and wonderfully skilled in all the arts. Humáiún was greatly pleased with him. He delighted in his company, and showered very great bounties upon him.

After the fall of Chámpánír Humáiún went to Kambháiat, and after making some excursions in the neighbourhood, he went to Ahmadábád, and encamped at the village of Ghiáspúr, two *kós* to the south of that city. He paid a visit to the tomb of Kutb-ul-Aktáb Burhán-ud-dín at the village of Batóh, three *kós* from Ahmadábád. Humáiún now heard of the rebellion, in Bihár and Jónpúr, of Shír Khán Afghán Súr, who afterwards became king with the title of Shír Sháh. Humáiún left his brother Mirzá 'Askarí at Ahmadábád, Kásim Beg at Bharúj, Yádgár Násir Mirzá at Pattan, and Bábá

Beg Jaláir, father of Sháham Beg Khán Jaláir, at Chámpánír.* He himself went off to A'grah by way of A'sír and Burhánpúr.

At this time, of the nobles of Sultán Bahádar, Malik Amín Nas held Ranthambór, Malik Burhán-ul-Mulk Buniání held Chítór, and Malik Shamshír-ul-Mulk held Ajmír. These nobles concerted together, and raised nearly twenty thousand horse, which they collected in the neighbourhood of the city of Pattan. From thence they wrote to Sultán Bahádar for permission to attack Yádgár Násir Mirzá. The Sultán refused, and particularly forbade them to risk a battle before he arrived, and telling them that he would join them immediately. When he arrived, Yádgár Násir Mirzá, considering himself too weak to risk a battle, withdrew to Ahmadábád. Sultán Bahádar entered Pattan, and then followed Yádgár Násir to Ahmadábád. On his approach the enemy came out of the city and encamped at Ghiáspúr. Bahádar followed, and pitched his camp on the other side of the river over against Ghiáspúr. The Sultán, expecting the enemy would give battle on the morrow, was occupied all night long with his preparations for the battle. The enemy lighted a great many lamps in their camp, left them burning, but themselves withdrew in the night to Mahmúdábád. In the morning, as soon as this was discovered, the Sultán pursued, and on the same day reached the village of Kénj, three *kós* from Mahmúdábád, and encamped there. Here he learned that the enemy's force from Bharúj had formed a junction with the other army in Mahmúdábád.

On the following morning, as soon as it was light, a battle began which was most fiercely contested. The Moghals, unable to sustain the fire of artillery and musketry which played upon them, charged down upon the Sultán's division, broke and scattered it, and the day was nearly lost; but some brave

* Or, according to another version, "Mirzá Hindál at Ahmadábád, Kásim Beg at Bharúj (Broach), and Hindú Beg at Pattan."

warriors, Sáíd Mubárak Bukhárí, 'Imád-ul-Mulk Malik Jíú, and others, stood firm as rocks, and, though assailed by the sword and a rain of arrows and other missiles, kept their ground like a wall. At last the Moghal soldiers began to plunder, and the Sultán's men, rallying, re-formed round these brave men, and in turn charged the enemy, and fighting bravely, the fortune of the day at once changed, and the enemy was driven back. The waters of the Mahindrí were high, and many of the fugitives perished by drowning. The Sultán pursued the defeated Moghals beyond the borders of Gujarát, and there desisting, returned to Chámpánír, and halted there; but he sent on his sister's son, Muhamad Sháh A'sírí to follow up the pursuit. The enemy, unable to make any stand in Málwah, went on to U'jain, and Muhamad Sháh pursued them thither, and encamped on the lake of Káliyád, which was formed by Sultán Ghiás-ud-dín of Mandú. Sultán Bahádar returned victorious to Ahmadábád. The stay of Mirzá 'Askarí and the other nobles in Gujarát was nine months and some days. The Firangís, however, had taken the opportunity of building a fort for themselves at Díú. The Sultán was exceedingly vexed at this, and set himself to devise some method of expelling those vile robbers thence.

During the days of his misfortune, after his defeat by the Emperor Humáiún, as related above, Sultán Bahádar came to Díú. The Firangís tendered their services, and spoke him fair, saying that all the seaports were in their hands, and that if he went to any of these ports they would be glad to assist him in any possible way. Under the circumstances in which he was then placed, the Sultán conducted himself in a friendly manner towards them. One day they came to him and stated that the merchants of their ports who came to the island of Díú were obliged to leave their goods and merchandise lying about; but if the Sultán would give them as much land in the island as a cow's hide, they would build four walls round it, and then they would store their property in it,

and would feel at their ease about it. The Sultán granted their request.*

When Bahádar was called away from Díú to oppose his enemies, the Firangís took advantage of the opportunity. They cut a hide up into strips, and enclosed as much ground as they could measure with them. Then they built a strong stone fort, and armed it with guns and muskets, and took up their residence in it. When intelligence of their proceedings reached the Sultán he was very much annoyed, and began to think over the means of turning them out; but he sought to do it by trick and stratagem, and thus to gain his object easily.

With this intention he left Ahmadábád and came to Kambháiat; after a short stay he went on to Díú. The Firangís knew that he had not come there without some object. He showed them much courtesy, but they suspected there was something behind it. When the Sultán had encamped at the village of Khókkatah, on the coast of Díú, he sent Núr Muhamad Khalíl, one of his personal attendants, to the Firangís, with directions to use every means and artifice he knew to bring their Captain (*Kaptán*) to him. The Captain received the silly man with great attention and honour, and treated him hospitably. While the messenger was under the influence of wine the Captain asked him about the Sultán's designs,

* The text has been allowed to stand as in the majority of the MSS.; but the MS. A has also another passage which is possibly part of the original work, and which therefore is here given in a condensed form. "The writer has written down this story as he heard it; but it seems improbable that the Sultán should have been so foolish as to believe these enemies of his state and faith. The writer is unable to accept the story. It is, indeed, manifestly improbable that the Firangís should only have asked for so much land as a cow's hide could cover, because such an amount of land was clearly insufficient for their purpose, however high they might build their walls. Such a request, therefore, would have been clearly and openly fraudulent, and either the Sultán's ministers, or he himself, who were well acquainted with the customs and practices of these Firangís, must have detected the fraud. It seems very probable that when he took up his position at Díú his courtiers were all in a panic in respect to the Emperor Humáiún, and made friends with the Firangís, and hoped, if the Emperor did come on in pursuit, to obtain aid from them, and therefore, to gain their favour, willingly allowed them openly to build the fort."

and the foolish fellow said what ought not to have been said, and divulged the Sultán's intentions, and so delivered him into the hands of the enemy. Thus the night passed. In the morning the Captain said, "I am the Sultán's humble servant, but I am unwell and cannot wait upon him." Núr Muhamad, fearing the consequences of his indiscretion, returned and made an untrue and evil-minded report. The Sultán, fully trusting Núr Muhamad, believed his word, said that some fear or suspicion possessed the Captain, and therefore he (the Sultán) would go and visit him and remove his apprehension.

With this object in view Bahádar called for a vessel, and took five or six officers with him, Malik Amín Nas Fárúkí, Shujá'at Khán, Langar Khán son of Kádir Sháh of Mandú, Alp Khán son of Shékhá Khatrí, Sikandar Khán governor of Satwás, and Ganésh Ráó brother of Médiní Ráó. He ordered that none of them should take any arms. The ministers and nobles remonstrated, saying that it was not right for him to go, especially unarmed, and that no good would come of it; and that if he was determined to go he ought at least to take a thousand armed men with him. In accordance with the text which says there is an appointed time for everyone, he went on board the vessel and set forth. The Captain, having arranged his treacherous preparations, went to the shore to meet him. He raised high his hat, and conducted him to the fort, and thence to his official residence. The Firangís put down clothes of velvet and brocade and gold embroidery and *kinkháb* for the Sultán to step upon, and on both sides of the carpets were censers of silver and gold jewelled, so that they might burn in them aloes and other perfumes to overcome the odours of the sea, and scattered plenty of rose-water on the ground to keep down the dust and disagreeable sand. They displayed from the ships and from the forts the flags and pennants and banners which are the ensigns of the Firangís, and paid the Sultán every honour. The chief men of the

Firangís came out in all civility to meet the Sultán on the sea-shore, and when the Sultán's boat drew near they lifted their hats on high, as is the custom of the Firangís when they salute their friends. As he landed, in their cunning they bowed the crowns of their heads in the dust of his footsteps, and the Captain waved plates upon plates of gold, and shield upon shield of jewels, round the Sultán's head as *largesse*. As the Sultán moved on, the Captain continually lifted his hat off his head and saluted, and made reverence before him. In this fashion he conducted the Sultán to his abode, and seated him on the seat of honour, using a great show of politeness to cover his designs. The Sultán also was weaving a plot, but fate was not in accord with his plans, and he did no good.

When they had finished their conversation and statements, the Firangí dogs made to each other a signal which they had preconcerted, and made ready their weapons. The Sultán perceived that he could not help himself, and that fortune and prosperity had deserted him. The *amírs* said, "Did we not tell you that you would bring ruin upon us?" He replied that fate had so ruled it. He rose up, and the Firangís rushed in on every side; but it is said that he had got near to the boat when a Firangí killed him with a sword-cut, and his body was thrown into the water. The *amírs* who accompanied him were also killed. This happened on the 3rd Ramazán, A.H. 943 (14th February, A.D. 1537). The chronogram composed by Ikhtiár Khán *wazír* is—*Sultán-ul-bar, Shahíd-ul-bahr*, "King of the Land, Martyr of the Sea."

It is said that when Sultán Bahádar was marching to Díú and arrived at Manglór, which is forty *kós* from Díú, Kází Mahmúd, who was the chief of the Kázís of that town, told him that there was a man there who was an innovator, whom they called Shékh Bában of Súrat; and besides his innovations, if anyone desired him to repeat the creed (*kali-*

mah), he would not repeat it. The Sultán ordered him to be sent for, and when they brought him to the *darbár*, sent to him and desired him to repeat the creed. He said, "I will not repeat it." They asked, "Why?" He replied, "I understand myself and God understands me; who else is there who has a right to ask me to do this, or that I should repeat the creed to him?" The Sultán told them to take him out, and if he would say the creed to let him go, if not, to put him to death; but, although he was much urged, he still refused, and at length the Sultán gave the order for his execution. When the executioner drew his sword, he said, "Tell the Sultán that the third day after my death shall be the first of his destruction"; and as the Almighty decreed it so it came to pass. Sultán Bahádar was twenty years old when he came to the throne, and he reigned eleven years; so he was thirty-one years old at his death.

CHAPTER XIII.

REIGN OF MUHAMAD SHÁH FÁRÚKÍ.

Upon the death of Sultán Bahádar, the chief ministers and nobles, such as 'Imád-ul-Mulk Malik Jíú, Dariá Khán Husén, Ikhtiár Khán, Khán Jíú, and others, wrote to Muhamad Sháh Fárúkí, King of A'sír and Burhánpúr, and son of the sister of the deceased Sultán, who was at U'jain, in the territories of Málwah, with six thousand horse, informing him of what had occurred, and inviting him to come to Ahmadábád; for the late Sultán had during his lifetime named Muhamad Sháh as his heir-apparent, had seated him on the throne, and had desired all the ministers and *amírs* to salute and accept him. The Sultán's object in thus placing him upon the throne was to let all the nobles and people know that the kingdom would ultimately fall to Muhamad Sháh, and that was because Sultán Bahádar had nominated him to march against the rulers of the Dakhin, and named several nobles who were to accompany him; but some of these were his equals in rank* and, indeed, thought themselves superior in dignity to him, such as Mallú Khán, ruler of Málwah, Sikandar Khán, ruler of Satwás, and Silhadí Rájpút of Ráísín. These nobles were unwilling to accompany him, and testified their disgust. Sultán Bahádar therefore placed Muhamad Sháh on the

* Though an independent prince, Muhamad Sháh was also a noble and feudatory of the Court of Ahmadábád.

throne, and himself made him a *salám*, so that there should be no ground for anyone else to refuse to do so.

At the time of Sultán Bahádar's death, Ikhtiár Khán and Afzal Khán *wazír*, were at Ahmadábád; 'Imád-ul-Mulk Malik Jíú, son of Tawakkul, chief of the royal *khásah-khails*, a very conceited and important person, was at Baródah. When he heard of the event he also went to Ahmadábád. At the time this news came, Mirzá Muhamad Zamán, son of Badí-uz-Zamán and grandson of Husén Báíkarah, King of Khurásán, of whom mention has before been made, was at the town of U'nah, three *kós* from the port of Díú. He was very ambitious, and aspired to rule. He went to the apartments of the Sultán's wives, and after offering many condolences, he urged that the deceased had left no son, but that he was his adopted brother, and if they would adopt him as a son and assist him, he would conduct the government of Gujarát as it ought to be conducted, for he was best fitted for such a position both by character and descent. His real object was, if they agreed, to get from them some treasure and jewels, and to expend these in raising an army. The ladies replied that he knew very well that the ladies of Persia did not interfere in politics, and that they pursued a similar course. They had no experience or skill in such matters; they concerned themselves with nothing beyond the allowances given them for food and raiment. The question which he raised would be settled by the ministers, and he should address himself to them.

When the pretensions of Mirzá Muhamad Zamán became generally known, the nobles at Ahmadábád came to the resolution that the task of putting him down must take precedence of all other matters, and should be entrusted to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and that he ought to undertake the work in person. The *wazír*, Ikhtiár Khán, was especially urgent. He said, "I am a man of the pen, 'Imád-ul-Mulk is a man of the sword; there is not his equal now in Gujarát." This speech displeased

Afzal Khán, and he said, "Right Khán, you have spoken well. 'Imád-ul-Mulk is both a man of the sword and a man of the pen, and is without equal among all the royal *khássah-khails*; but he never acts righteously, and there is no rule of decency which he has not violated." 'Imád-ul-Mulk was greatly enraged at these words, but he started with a large army for Sórath to put down Mirzá Muhamad Zamán. When he reached the neighbourhood of U'nah the Mirzá came out and bravely offered battle; but he was defeated and obliged to take refuge in exile.

When the news of Sultán Bahádar's death and of Muhamad Zamán Mirzá's pretensions were conveyed to the Emperor Humáiún, he remarked: "If that black stone" (meaning 'Imád-ul-Mulk) "still lives, Muhamad Zamán Mirzá will never attain his object." 'Imád-ul-Mulk returned victorious and in triumph to Ahmadábád. Afzal Khán then observed to Ikhtiár Khán (they were both of them men of great wisdom and ability) that even before his victory 'Imád-ul-Mulk's head was somewhat turned, and that now nothing was likely to content him; and that it would be better for them to act on what they had already said and written to each other, and to resign their offices and retire into private life. Ikhtiár Khán said that he himself had always been well disposed to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and as he did not apprehend any evil from 'Imád-ul-Mulk, he did not see why the latter should mistrust him. Afzal Khán, who was a person of extraordinary sagacity and foresight, replied: "I, too, am a supporter of his, and that is the very reason why I go into retirement!" Ikhtiár Khán took no heed to Afzal Khán's warning, so the latter said to himself: "Ikhtiár Khán is an old man, and his brain is enfeebled by age; I must take heed to myself." He accordingly went to his house, put away from him all worldly matters, and, retiring into his house, locked all the doors, and kept the key himself, and allowed no one to come to him except one servant; and even this man did not live with him,

but every morning brought his daily supply of food. It is said that when Sultán Mahmúd (III.) plundered the house of 'A'lam Khán, he passed by Afzal Khán's house, which was on the roadside. Afzal Khán came out and saluted the Sultán; but up to that time no one had seen him, nor had he ever set foot out of his house. One *darwésh* only, who was on terms of great intimacy with him, used occasionally to visit him, and he used himself to unlock the door and admit him, and converse with him; and when he dismissed him he would again lock the door. What befell Ikhtiár Khán will be related presently, as will be also the story of the plunder of 'A'lam Khán's house.

When the letter from the ministers of Gujarát, announcing Bahádar Sháh's death and summoning him to Gujarát, reached Muhamad Sháh, he never said a word to anyone in his army, but, from the affection which he bore to Sultán Bahádar, the world lost all attraction in his eyes; and the marks of sorrow and grief and anguish were manifest in his countenance. From being a cheerful man he became downcast, and all the pleasures and delights of the flesh became distasteful to him; he fasted all day, and in the evening merely tasted a few curds, and then passed the whole night in prayer. He never spoke a word to anyone, but now and then there escaped from his lips, as if with a sigh, the words, "I consume, I consume!" At this time he commanded between seventy and eighty thousand horse. Some of his nobles came to congratulate him on his accession to the throne of Gujarát, but he said to them: "If you gave me the sovereignty of the whole habitable world, without the Sultán, who was dear to me as life, it would be distasteful to me." At last, on the seventieth day after the murder of Bahádar Sháh, Muhamad Sháh departed this life.

When the news of Muhamad Sháh's decease reached the ears of the nobles and ministers of Gujarát, they agreed that there was no other heir to the throne except Mahmúd Khán,

the son of Latíf Khán, the brother of Sultán Bahádar. The said Mahmúd Khán and Mubárak Khán, the brother of Muhamad Sháh, were both in confinement at the town of Biáwal, in Khándésh.

It is said that Bahádar Khán, jealous of his throne, sent all his brothers and relatives to the kingdom of Death; save only this Mahmúd Khán, who at that time was an infant at the breast, not one was left alive. One day the Sultán sent for him, with the intention of sending him also to visit his relations in the house of death; but when he looked upon the Khán a feeling of compassion came over him.* He lifted up the child with both hands, and the latter, as little children are wont to do, tossed out his hands and feet, and drew them in again. Accidentally the child's hand came in contact with the Sultán's beard, on which he said: "You have claimed the protection of my beard! Then I grant you your life." And he returned him to his keepers, and desired them to educate him. One day he sent for him, and his keepers took him away from school and brought him, dressed just as he was, to the Sultán. When the Sultán cast his eyes on him, he perceived that his clothes were covered with black spots. On this he rebuked the keepers, saying: "Ye ignorant fools! do you thus treat princes, and bring them into public assemblies with their clothes disfigured by stains! If ever they come to power and rule, they will take revenge on you for this." It so happened that Muhamad Sháh was present at that assembly, and when Sultán Bahádar perceived him, he said: "Since the government of this kingdom will ultimately come to you, I confide Mahmúd Khán to you; do you dispose of him as you deem advisable." Muhamad Sháh gave both Mubárak Khán, his own brother, and Mahmúd Khán in charge to Malik Shams-ud-dín, and desired him to keep them both under surveillance in his house at Biáwal.

When Muhamad Sháh died his son was an infant, and

* Lit. "a vein of mercy ran through his body."

not fit to rule; nevertheless, the ministers decided that he should succeed his father, and they placed him on the throne. His ministers considered that, as Mubárak Khán was young and able, and that if he revolted he might very likely obtain the kingdom, it would be wise to put him to death. They therefore sent from the seat of government at Burhánpúr a guard, to bring Mubárak Khán from prison, and to put him to the sword. As has been said, when the courtiers and nobles of Gujarát were made aware of Sultán Muhamad's decease, they unanimously determined to raise Mahmúd Khán to the throne. Accordingly they wrote to Shams-ud-dín, saying that after the death of Sultán Bahádar the eyes of all Gujarát were turned to Muhamad Sháh; but since it was God's will that he also should die, there was now no heir to succeed to the throne of Gujarát except Mahmúd Khán, and it was essential that he should be sent to ascend the throne of his ancestors. Mukbil Khán, the brother of Ikhtiár Khán, was deputed to bring the prince, and Malik Shams-ud-dín delivered Mahmúd Khán into his charge. The Malik also sent Mubárak Khán to Burhánpúr.

It is said that the nobles of Muhamad Sháh placed Mubárak Khán in the charge of a noble named 'Arab Khán, with orders to secure him for the night, since on the morrow, as had been agreed, he would be put to death. 'Arab Khán took him home, and told him to do whatever his heart desired that night, for he must know well what would become of him in the morning. Mubárak Khán's eyes filled with tears, and he said: "I wish that you would take the bonds off my hands and feet, and befriend me, and let them see what I can do. If I am killed, my desires will be at an end; but if, by the will of fate, I survive, I will reward you in a way that has never yet been heard of." The Almighty turned the heart of 'Arab Khán in favour of Mubárak Khán, and he released his feet from the bonds and took his part. Mubárak Khán and 'Arab Khán, with several friends and adherents, went early in the

morning, with drawn swords, to the royal *darbár*. The guards had gone to their homes, and there was nobody there but a few domestic servants. Of them a few were killed, and some ran off in a panic. Mubárak Khán seized his nephew and put him in confinement. He then seated himself on the throne and sent a message to the nobles, saying: "The regency during my nephew's minority belongs of right to me; every noble who submits, and is obedient, shall have his appointments continued to him." The nobles perceived that the matter had passed out of their hands, and that they had no choice but to yield. Things went on quietly during the day. At night he had his nephew killed, and in the morning seated himself upon the throne. Every noble who came saluted him, and stood with hands clasped in his presence. Coins were struck in his name; his title was changed to Mubárak Sháh.

CHAPTER XIV.

REIGN OF SULTÁN MAHMÚD III.

SULTA'N MAHMU'D ascended the throne in the year H. 943* (A.D. 1537), when he was eleven years of age. His mother was a daughter of Bahrám Khán, a prince of Sind, of the Helper tribe of Tamím.† He was born in Sórath in the year H. 932 (A.D. 1526), in the reign of Sultán Muzaffar.‡

The *khutbah* was said and coins were struck in the name of Mahmúd. 'Imád-ul-Mulk Malik Jíú was appointed to the office of *wazír*, and Dariá Khán, whose name was Husén,

* 10th Zí-l-hijjah, 944 A.H. (May 10th, 1538 A.D.).—"Tabakát-i-Akbarí" and Firishtah.

† "Of the Ansárí tribe of Tamím." The Bani Tamím was one of the first of the desert Arab tribes which ranged itself on the side of Muhamad, and may, therefore, have claimed the title of Ansárí, or "Helper," though in strictness that title belongs only to the inhabitants of Medínah. It is very improbable, however, that any person of that tribe founded a royal race in Sind. A man of the *name* of Tamím was one of the earliest governors of that province; but it was ruled for 250 years, or more, by governors sent from the Khalífs. Even when Mansúrah and Multán became independent, and were ruled by princes said to be of Arab descent, these do not seem to have claimed descent from the Tamím tribe. See "Mahomedan Historians," vol. i. p. 454, 45€. It is true that Ma,mún, and after him Firishtah, seem to credit this claim. There was, however, a tribe of Tamím in Sind. They were Hindús and connections of the Hindú tribe of Súmrahs, who for a long time gave rulers to Sind (*cf.* "Mahomedan Historians," vol. i. p. 25€). It is possible that they may in later times have claimed Arab descent. There are many Bilúchís in the Lower Punjáb who claim to be "Koreish," but their claim may well be doubted.

‡ Certain remarks follow here regarding the Sultán's horoscope; they are taken apparently from Hindú astrology, and are too imperfect to be produced, even if were worth doing so. But they infer that the Sultán was born just before the death of Sultán Muzaffar his grandfather, and this fact tallies with the statement in the text.

received the title Majlis Giráni. These two transacted the business of the *wazárat* in concert. Ikhtiár Khán, *wazír* of Sultán Bahádar, received personal charge of the Sultán. His brother, Mukbil Khán, and Lád Khán, son of Mukbil, were appointed to watch over the Sultán, and kept him as if shut up in a cupboard. No one was allowed to approach the Sultán but the nobles above named. Some domestics in their confidence waited upon him and furnished him with food, drink, and raiment. He ate the food they supplied and wore the clothes they provided. Not a menial was about him who was not a dependant of the *wazírs*.

The Sultán was much dissatisfied with this treatment, but he was so sagacious and prudent that he said not a syllable to anyone, but gave himself up to amusements, and occupied himself with hunting, and never meddled with, or made any inquiry concerning, the affairs of government or about the army. He used continually to say in a languid way: "When a king has two such *wazírs* as Dariá Khán and 'Imád-ul-Mulk, what need is there for his troubling his head with business? His royalty should give him ease and comfort, and I enjoy these in perfection. What concern have I with affairs of state and military matters, when I have wise *wazírs* and nobles who will administer them for the good of the country?" Sometimes, to mislead his ministers, he would say: "What kind of place is Makkah, and where is it? I should like to make a pilgrimage to Makkah and Medínah." This style of talk gratified the ministers, who governed the country just as they pleased.

One day Lád Khán, son of Mukbil Khán, said to the Sultán, "If you will give the word, I will manage so that Dariá Khán and 'Imád-ul-Mulk shall both retire behind the veil of death." The Sultán reflected that such a scheme could not be kept secret, for all his attendants were the creatures of the ministers, and that if the ministers feared any danger from him they would soon make away with him. The Sultán,

therefore, at once rode to the house of 'Imád-ul-Mulk and told him of the proposition of Mukbil Khán's son. 'Imád-ul-Mulk then sent for Dariá Khán, and repeated the Sultán's story. They went together to the palace, and having brought in Ikhtiár Khán, Mukbil Khán, and his son, they had them hanged in front of the audience-chamber. This occurred in the year H. 944 (A.D. 1537), which date is found in the words, بناحق کشتہ *Bináhakk kushtah* ("unjustly slain").

It is said that when the rope was put round the neck of Ikhtiár Khán he raised his hands and cried, "O God, thou knowest I am innocent; what these know of me, I do not know myself; they are killing me unjustly." He began to repeat the creed, and had already said, "Lá Alláh illa ulláh" when the executioner pulled the rope.* When the bodies were cold they were cut down, and when the rope which was round the throat of Ikhtiár Khán was loosed, he opened his eyes, came to himself, and the words "wa Muhamad rasúl illáh" came from his tongue, and he then gave up the ghost. There is nothing surprising in this, for Ikhtiár Khán was a good and righteous man, and he was innocent. When 'Imád-ul-Mulk became aware of this fact, he said to Dariá Khán: "This man has given proof of his innocence and of our having killed him unjustly; this deed will bring an evil day upon us." And so it proved, for eventually the Sultán had 'Imád-ul-Mulk put to death with torture. Dariá Khán fled his country, leaving his wives and children, and went to Dehlí, where he died in bitter repentance. Their very names and all traces of them have passed away.

Some little time after Dariá Khán conceived that 'Imád-ul-Mulk assumed to himself too much of the ministerial power, and did as he pleased, without regard to anyone else.† He

* The expressions used may signify that they were either hanged or strangled; the latter is, perhaps, more probable.

† The MS. A. here differs from all the other MSS. It makes it appear that Dariá Khán had no provocation from 'Imád-ul-Mulk, but simply wished to get all power into his own hands.

imparted these thoughts to Fattú Jíú, entitled Muháfiz Khán, who was his close friend and confidant. They one day took the Sultán out from Ahmadábád on the plea of hunting, and went on hunting as far as the river Mahindrí, thirty *kós* from Ahmadábád. He encamped there, and summoned the nobles with their contingents from all quarters to join him, and many came, but not 'Imád-ul-Mulk or his friends.* Then he sent a message to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, in the name of the Sultán, directing him to retire to his *jágír*.

'Imád-ul-Mulk saw the turn things had taken, and endeavoured to collect an army for the purpose of removing the Sultán out of Dariá Khán's hands by force. He took a great deal of money out of the Government treasury and gave it to the soldiery, but not one of the influential nobles or chiefs joined him. At length he retired to his *jágír* at Jhálá-wár, and the Sultán returned to Ahmadábád.

Five or six months later Dariá Khán took the Sultán with him and led an army against 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who made a stand at the village of Pátarí† in *parganah* Bíramgáon, but he was defeated. Sadar Khán Zubérí, the commander of his army, was killed, Sharzah-ul-Mulk was taken prisoner,‡ and 'Imád-ul-Mulk himself fled to Burhánpúr to Mubárak Sháh, king of that country. Dariá Khán led the Sultán in pursuit to the borders of Burhánpúr, and sent a message to Mubárak Sháh, desiring him to seize and deliver up 'Imád-ul-Mulk as a rebel, with an intimation that it would be the worse for him if he did not comply. Mubárak Sháh replied that if the fugitive who had sought his protection were an infidel he could not surrender him, much less a friend like 'Imád-ul-Mulk.

This reply roused the anger of Dariá Khán and he set his army in motion. A battle was fought near the town of Dángrí

* This is the reading of all the MSS. except MS. A., which makes it appear that 'Imád-ul-Mulk's followers were thus drawn away from him.

† This name is given as "Mátarí," "Bajánah," "Májharí."

‡ This passage differs in almost all the MSS. Some have it that Sadar Khán was taken alive and tortured to death. Probably Sadar Khán was killed and Sharzah-ul-Mulk was put to a cruel death.

in Burhánpúr, in which Mubárak Sháh was utterly defeated, and he retired into the fort of A'sír. All his elephants fell into the hands of the Sultán, and they were very fine and famous animals. The army of Gujarát marched on to Burhánpúr, and 'Imád-ul-Mulk fled to Mandú, to Kádir Sháh, ruler of Málwah. The Sultán remained some days at Burhánpúr, and peace was then made, on the condition that the *khutbah* should run and the coins of that country should be struck in the name of Sultán Mahmúd. The Sultán then returned to Ahmadábád.

After this the whole government of the country of Gujarát was in the hands of Dariá Khán. Sultán Mahmúd had the name of king, but Dariá Khán had all the power. In those days he so ruled that all the people of the country, small and great, were satisfied and grateful, and were loud in thanks and praises, saying the days of Sultán Mahmúd Bí-garha, the best of the kings of Gujarát, had come back again; for everyone lived in peace and happiness, and enjoyed himself as his means allowed. The date of his rule is given by the words خوش حال (*khúsh-hál*), "the happy time." He granted numerous charitable pensions, hardly any *darwésh* in Gujarát was without one. To soldiers who were married he gave *in'áms* in addition to their *jágírs* and allowances. It is said that he always had a number of *farmáns* ready drawn up with the Sultán's seal attached, and the places for the name of the grantee and the quantity of land left blank, so that a deserving person might not have to endure delay or the insolence of officials. Whenever he heard that there was a recluse engaged in devotion and suffering poverty in retirement, he would fill up a grant according to the devotee's deserts, and send it to him. It is said that he had thus filled up a *farmán* with the name of a certain *darwésh*, bestowing on him a certain amount of land and money allowances, and sent it to him by one of his own servants. The servant by mistake gave it to another *darwésh* of the same name. As the *farmán* did not

reach the person to whom it was sent, inquiry was made; the servant explained to whom it was given, and offered to go and get it back. Dariá Khán said: "I sent it to one man, God has given it to another; it would not please him if I should take it away and change the joy it has caused into grief. I will maintain what God has given." So he ordered another *farmán* to be prepared and sent to the first *darwésh*, with a larger amount of land, and a higher money allowance.

But Dariá Khán was a man of pleasure, and he left the management of the palace to 'A'lam Khán Lódí, whilst he listened to singing and enjoyed himself with dancing girls. It is said that in his time music and singing were heard in every house, and in all the streets and bázárs.* For five years Dariá Khán enjoyed all the pleasures of life; but when it was otherwise fated by Heaven, the times changed, misfortune befell him, and the supports of his power gave way.

Although the Sultán was acquainted with the extravagance and voluptuous life of Dariá Khán, he was apparently heedless of it, and made no remark about it either in public or in private. Dariá Khán was watchful and inquisitive to discover what passed in the mind of the Sultán, but he learnt not a word which could show him the Sultán's real feelings. He constantly impressed upon his spies and observers the duty of watchfulness, and to report what passed in the Sultán's society.

'A'lam Khán Lódí,† Alaf Khán, Wajíh-ul-Mulk Tánk, and Alp Khán Khatrí, who were all intimate friends the one of the other, and were also on good terms with Dariá Khán, asked permission to go to their *jágírs*. Dariá Khán assented, but said he would give them a grand entertainment and an

* A paragraph in laudation of certain musicians and singers, especially of one beautiful Máhan Ráí, is here omitted; also an anecdote related on the authority of Sáíd Muhamad Bukhárí, to the general effect that one of the widows of Sultán Muzaffar II., being invited to an entertainment at Dariá Khán's house, was, though quite accustomed to perfumes, &c., made quite faint by their excess on this occasion.

† This is 'A'lam Khán Lódí III. See note p. 276, 277.

exhibition of his dancing-girls before he let them go, and he promised to have it ready on the morrow. They were all much pleased, and went to their homes. Dariá Khán had a connection, by name Latíf-ul-Mulk, a youth of great beauty, both of face and person, whom he would not invite to his parties.* This vexed and irritated the youth, and on this occasion he was so exasperated that he went to the house of 'A'lam Khán as soon as it was dark, and, professing to be very sad, said: "I sincerely pity you, and have therefore come to warn you that Dariá Khán intends, when you have well drunk of wine at the festival, to kill all four of you."

The nobles were amazed and alarmed, and asked each other what was to be done, and how they could escape. They knew Dariá Khán so well that they could not believe he would act thus towards them without cause, neither could they look upon the statement of Latíf-ul-Mulk as altogether a sheer falsehood. They passed that night and the following day in great uneasiness. When the evening came and the entertainment was ready, Dariá Khán sent for his four guests, and they obeyed the call, prepared for death and resigned to the decrees of fate.

Dariá Khán had no suspicion of what had passed, and, as his object was to give his friends pleasure, he devoted himself to the direction of the party, and strove to entertain his guests. But, however much he strove, he could not dispel the melancholy of his friends or drive away the gloom of dejection from their faces. When the time arrived for the cup to pass round, at every cup these nobles took they made signs to each other as if to signify, "This cup we are drinking is the cup of death!" Dariá Khán exerted himself to entertain his friends, and every minute said something cheerful, but every minute the four nobles became more depressed. Seeing that they did not enjoy themselves, and that their faces were clouded with

* Apparently this means out of jealousy of his good looks.

gloom and anxiety, he said to them, "Is all well? do not you enjoy this kind of entertainment? what is it? what is the matter?" They hung down their heads and said nothing. At length, when Dariá Khán pressed them, 'A'lam Khán said, "We are in fear of our lives." He asked what they meant, and 'A'lam Khán told him that Latíf-ul-Mulk had informed them that they were to be put to death that very night, and said: "How can we enjoy ourselves, and how can we look happy?" Dariá Khán was very indignant. He broke up the party, called for the holy Kurán, and swore that such a thought as Latíf-ul-Mulk had attributed to him had never entered into his imagination. Having consoled and cheered them he sent them home. In the morning they all went to their *jágírs*.

Dariá Khán called for Latíf-ul-Mulk and said, "You scoundrel! why have you been spreading false reports about me among my friends?" He ordered that his head and face should be shaved, that he should be mounted on an ass and paraded through the streets of the city, and then be put in prison. The family of Latíf-ul-Mulk besought the great men of the city to intercede for him, and they obtained his release from Dariá Khán. That confirmed liar kept himself close at home for a while, till his beard and whiskers had grown again, and when he came abroad he went to 'A'lam Khán and said, "Was it right of you, when I had, in pure compassion, told you a secret, to publish it, and bring me to such public disgrace?" 'A'lam Khán was ashamed, and told him to wait patiently, for he would have revenge of Dariá Khán, or he was not a man, or worthy of the name of a man.

When 'Imád-ul-Mulk retired from Burhánpúr, he went to Mallú Khán, ruler of Málwah. This Khán was one of the hereditary nobles of the kings of Mandú, but he had given in his adherence to the late Sultán Bahádar who patronised him. Sultán Bahádar kept his son Langar Khán near his own person, and when he sent Muhamad Sháh in pursuit of the

Moghal army Langar Khán went with him. He also accompanied Bahádar Sháh to Díú and was murdered with him.

When Muhamad Sháh died, Mallú Khán stayed in Málwah, and, by degrees acquiring power, he got the greater part of the territories of Mandú into his possession. 'Imád-ul-Mulk and he had a great respect for each other, and in the early days of the reign of Sultán Mahmúd, 'Imád-ul-Mulk, when he was *wazír*, obtained for Mallú Khán a royal umbrella, the right of striking coins, and the title of Kádir Sháh. Accordingly, the *khutbah* was said and coins were struck in his name, and he assumed the style of Kádir Sháh. His relations to 'Imád-ul-Mulk grew closer and closer; and when the latter fell into adversity, as has been related above, he sought refuge with him. Dariá Khán was aggrieved at this, and wrote to Kádir Sháh, in the name of Sultán Mahmúd, saying that Kádir Sháh had always been a friend of the sovereigns of Gujarát: 'Imád-ul-Mulk, after for many years enjoying the favour of his King, had recently revolted, and had fled to Mubárak Sháh. No doubt Kádir Sháh was aware what misfortunes 'Imád-ul-Mulk had thus brought on Mubárak Sháh. It was now understood that he had fled to Málwah. Kádir Sháh was, therefore, requested either to seize 'Imád-ul-Mulk and deliver him up as a prisoner, or to expel him from his dominions, a course which would give fresh vigour to already existing friendship. It was for Kádir Sháh to decide. Kádir Sháh replied that 'Imád-ul-Mulk was no longer a warrior, but had become a *darwésh*; a village had been given him for subsistence. As he was an old friend, and had sought shelter, it would be disgraceful to let him go away among strangers; but nothing need be apprehended from him, for he had abandoned the world and become a recluse.

Dariá Khán's object was that 'Imád-ul-Mulk should not receive any help, and become powerful and a source of danger and anxiety to him. When, therefore, he received Kádir Sháh's letter he was greatly enraged. He ordered that the signal for the march should be sounded, and that the Sultán's

advanced camp should be moved out of the city to the palace Ghatmandól, near the Kánkariah tank. He sent a summons through all the kingdom, calling upon all the nobles and soldiers to assemble and form an army for making war upon Kádir Sháh. The nobles came streaming in with supplies from all parts. A few days afterwards Dariá Khán took the Sultán out to his advanced camp, but he himself still resided in the city. He used to go out to the Sultán after the first watch of the day, remain three or four hours or so in the *darbár*, and then went back into the city and abandoned himself to his pleasures. All the soldiers went back with him. Only a few *chókídárs* were left to keep watch by the Sultán, and when their watch was over, they also went into the city, and others took their places.

So long as the Sultán was a boy, he amused himself as he could, but he was now verging upon manhood. A host of desires seized upon him, and he sought to regain possession of his kingdom and power; but as the attainment of his designs was not yet possible he kept them concealed. One day Dariá Khán took the Sultán and Mírán Sáíd Mubárak Bukhárí to an entertainment at his house, to exhibit his dancing-girls. When the Sultán entered the assembly, and beheld the beauty of these fairy-like women, he was astonished at their loveliness. Some of them were indeed beautiful beyond compare; and though they wore splendid jewels, their beauty outshone all these, as the sun outshines the moon. They danced all night before the Sultán, and in the early morning Dariá Khán took one of the dancing-girls round the waist and retired with her to his room and went to sleep, leaving the Sultán and Mírán Mubárak sitting there alone. The Sultán could no longer restrain his impatience. He said softly, "Mírán Jíú, do you see how this insolent slave has left me? After drinking his wine he has retired to his pleasure." Mírán told him that it was very wrong, but if he had patience all that he had seen would soon be in his own power. Meanwhile he should wait

his opportunity. Eventually it came to pass, as will be related presently, that everything which Dariá Khán possessed fell into the Sultán's hands.

When 'A'lam Khán became aware that the Sultán was living outside the city with a small body of watchmen and keepers, and that Dariá Khán was in the city with the army, and that the Sultán was angry and discontented with his condition, he privately wrote to the Sultán from Dhandúkah, which town he held in *jágír*, thirty *kós* from Ahmadábád, saying that he was an old and true-born servant of the State, and could not bear to see Dariá Khán enjoying power and rule and ease and pomp, while his true sovereign remained in comparative want and trouble. It was for this reason, he said, that he himself had withdrawn to his *jágír*, and was existing quietly; but that if the Sultán aimed at power, and would come to his *jágír*, he would assist him to the utmost, and do away with that perverter. The Sultán despatched the bird-catcher, Jarjí, who afterwards, by the Sultán's favour, became Muháfiz Khán, to Dhandúkah, under pretence of fetching hawks* from Júnahgarh, for the hawks of that neighbourhood are renowned, but really to come to a full understanding and agreement with 'A'lam Khán. Jarjí had an interview with the Khán, who confirmed his loyalty by oath, and satisfied Jarjí upon all points; and it was arranged that two hundred horsemen should go by night to Ghatmandól, and that the Sultán should join them and go towards Dhandúkah. Accordingly, on the appointed night that force came and brought a horsed cart† close under the walls of the fort, and the Sultán at midnight descended the walls of the palace by a ladder, and, taking his seat in the horsed cart, hurried off. In the morning he reached the town of Jámbú in Jhálawar, where Wajíh-ul-Mulk, the *jágírdár*, came out to meet him. Without resting a moment

* "Hawks," *shikárhá*.
† *Ghór bahal* گهوڑ بهل घोड़ बहल

he went on to Dhandúkah, where 'A'lam Khán welcomed him and promised that the enterprise would be successful.

Dariá Khán went to the Sultán's apartments at the first watch of the day, and then learnt that he had gone away to 'A'lam Khán. He was greatly troubled, and asked Fattú Jíú Muháfiz Khán, who was a man of much experience and his most steadfast friend, what was best to be done; and he answered, "I have repeatedly advised you to blind the Sultán and keep him in confinement, then to set up some other child in his place, who would be entirely under your control, but you would not listen to me. Now do not give the Sultán opportunity to gather strength; raise someone else at once to the throne, and collect your troops from every quarter, that I may go and bring Sultán Mahmúd back alive."

Dariá Khán procured one of the descendants of Sultán Ahmad, the founder of Ahmadábád, and raised him to the throne with the title of Sultán Muzaffar, and, having collected an army of fifty or sixty thousand picked and veteran horse, marched to Dhandúkah. There 'A'lam Khán had got together a force of ten or twelve thousand horse to support the Sultán, and a battle was fought at the village of Dahúr, in the *parganah* of Dhólkah, about seven *kós* from Dhandúkah. It is said that, notwithstanding Dariá Khán's promises and encouragements, many of his men deserted to the Sultán.

On the Sultán's left wing 'A'lam Khán commanded; opposite to him, on the enemy's side, Fattú Jíú Muháfiz Khán was posted. He was a very gallant man, and used to say, "There is one thing I cannot understand, why one man should run away from another." On the right flank were Mujáhid Khán Bhalím and his brother, Mujáhid-ul-Mulk. Against them, on the enemy's side, were stationed Shamshír-ul-Mulk, the brother of Fattú Jíú; while Wajíh-ul-Mulk Táj, 'Alaf Khán Dalání, Affghán, and Alp Khán Khatrí, were in the centre, attending on the Sultán. Over against the Sultán, on the enemy's side, were Dariá Khán and the king whom he had

manufactured and called Sultán Muzaffar, and several chiefs, such as Alá-ud-dín 'A'lam Khán Lodí, brother of Sikandar Sháh, King of Dehlí, who in the days of Sultán Bahádar Sháh had come and taken service with that King. The van, on both sides, was composed of valiant and tried soldiers, and advanced bravely to the battle-field. It is said that before the two vanguards had closed in battle, 'A'lam Khán, in anticipation, dashed upon the enemy's van, and Fattú Jíú advanced to meet him, Dariá Khán standing firm the meanwhile. After a sharply-contested action Fattú Jíú's division was defeated, and he himself, in spite of all his boasting, fled for refuge to Dariá Khán's centre. He and Dariá Khán then together charged the centre division of Sultán Mahmúd's army with such vigour that the Sultán could not repel it, and his troops were thrown into confusion and fled. His followers drew the Sultán on one side, and by their aid he escaped to Ránpúr, ten *kós* west of Dhandúkah, and from thence to the village of Kót, in the *parganah* of Kóth Páliá, five *kós* from Ránpúr, in the *parganah* of Saróh and *sarkár* of Sórath.* 'A'lam Khán fled to the village of Sádrah, on the banks of the Sámbhar, seventeen *kós* north of Ahmadábád.†

Dariá Khán returned victorious to the town of Dhólkah. But the star of Sultán Mahmúd was in the ascendant, and, notwithstanding his defeat, troop after troop, band after band, even of the victorious side, joined either the Sultán or 'A'lam Khán, so that, in the course of three or four days, ten or twelve thou-

* There appears to be some confusion of names here.

† "In the first charge 'A'lam Khán defeated the advanced force of Dariá Khán, and dashed boldly into the midst of the main force. He fought bravely, and when he came out of the conflict there were only five horsemen left with him. Not finding Sultán Mahmúd with his army where he had left him, it occurred to him that the defeated horsemen of Dariá Khán's advanced force had fled to Ahmadábád, and had spread the news of his defeat. He therefore went off thither with his five followers with all speed, and, entering the royal palace, proclaimed a victory. The people saw him, as they had seen the defeated horsemen before; they believed in the defeat of Dariá Khán, and joined 'A'lam Khán. He ordered the house of Dariá to be plundered, and the gates of the city to be closed; then he sent a messenger to bring in the Sultán."—"Tab. Akbarí" and Firishtah.

sand horse were gathered round 'A'lam Khán. He then wrote to the Sultán begging him to join him, and saying that, with God's blessing, they would this time take the rebel alive.

Dariá Khán saw that his forces were day after day deserting him and joining the Sultán, and found he could not retain his position at Dhólkah, so he retired to Ahmadábád, hoping that when he had the treasury in his power he might by its means win back the troops to his side. When he reached the gates of the city the inhabitants closed them in his face, and discharged volleys of arrows and musketry against him, and sent him a message saying that "No traitor like thee, who has fought against his master, will we allow to enter the city." On this he retired from the gate, but burst open the postern gate of Bairampúr, and so got inside. But though he tried to win over the people, and made them presents of cash and promises, they nevertheless shrank from him, and at night went off stealthily to the Sultán.

When the Sultán and 'A'lam Khán found themselves in command of a sufficient force they marched upon Ahmadábád. Dariá Khán was alarmed at this movement, and was afraid lest the people should seize him and give him up to the Sultán. He sent his women and treasures, in charge of Fattú Jíú, to the fort of Chámpánír, with directions to hold the place, saying that he himself would go to Mubárak Sháh and bring him and his men to assist. He himself proceeded, accordingly, to Burhánpúr. This happened in the year H. 950 (A.D. 1543).

The Sultán entered Ahmadábád, and stayed there a few days; he then marched to Chámpánír, and invested it. Fattú Jíú did all he could to defend it, but the Sultán soon took it by storm. Sultán Mahmúd showed inconceivable courage on the day of the assault. Six or seven men were shot down close around, but he would not move off one step right or left, nor would he allow his umbrella to be put aside, although it served as a mark to the enemy. Afzal Khán, *wazír*, indeed, ordered the umbrella-bearer to take it away, but the Sultán insisted on

its remaining, and, advancing in front of his men, they stormed the fort on all sides, and Fattú Jíú withdrew into the citadel called Múliah. That also was at length taken, and Fattú Jíú brought bound before the Sultán, who ordered him to be confined in the fort of Súrat. The treasure of Dariá Khán, and all his women, four or five hundred in number, some of whom were of surpassing beauty, fell into the Sultán's hands. After this the Sultán said to Mírán Säíd Mubarak, "Mírán Jíú, what you said seemed to be quite impossible, but it has come to pass." Mírán Jíú replied by a well-known proverb* :—

> Though the seed lie dormant long,
> Like the lion's claw, 'tis strong.

Mahmúd remained at Chámpánír three months, resting and giving himself up to the pleasures of youth. Malik Burhán-ul-Mulk Baniání was appointed *wazír*. He was an upright man and prudent in business. 'A'lam Khán was appointed *amír-ul-umrá* and commander-in-chief. He one day begged the Sultán to recall 'Imád-ul-Mulk, an old and faithful servant of the State, whom Dariá Khán, in his malignity, had driven into exile. Accordingly the Sultán wrote a *farmán* recalling him. The Sultán unhappily now showed a taste for low companions, and began, in forgetfulness of his duty, to favour the wicked. Accordingly he promoted the bird-catcher Jarjí to the title of Muháfiz Khán, and made him one of his courtiers. He was a man of little understanding or prudence, and used to get drunk and speak improperly to the *wazírs* and nobles, and used to boast that he was the most intimate friend and counsellor of the Sultán. This greatly annoyed them.

At this conjuncture 'Imád-ul-Mulk came from Mandú, and was received with great kindness and distinction. The *sarkár* of Bharúj and the port of Súrat were given to him in *jágír*,

* The force of the proverb can hardly be realised by those who have not seen the force with which tropical vegetation bursts through all restraints.

and he was sent there to fit himself out and settle his arrangements. One day, at a drinking bout, Jarjí said to the Sultán, "Your tent wants new ropes, the old rotten ones are of no use;* it were better to put them out of the way, so that they may be replaced by new ones. There is Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín Lódí, who was with Dariá Khán at the battle near Dahúr, and there is Shujá'at Khán, who is another of them. These two men ought to be put to death as a warning for others." The Sultán, without thought or consideration, listened to the suggestions of that ignorant ruffian and utter fool, and, without so much as consulting any of his nobles or ministers, gave orders that these two nobles should be executed. He then, by the advice of Jarjí, withdrew into his private apartments, and would not see any one of his ministers or nobles. Thus he continued for three days.

'A'lam Khán then said to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who had not yet set out for his *jágír*, "Sultán 'Alá-ud-dín was brother of Sultán Sikandar Lódí, and this is the third day that he has been lying on the road beneath the gibbet. You go to the Sultán and beg permission for us to bury him." 'Imád-ul-Mulk observed that he had been dismissed to his *jágír*, but 'A'lam Khán said, "It is not right; you must go and get leave to bury these men." He accordingly went to the palace. Jarjí came out from the Sultán's presence and said, "You have been dismissed to your *jágír*; why have you come back?" He then urged his request. The ruffian smiled maliciously, and said: "These two traitors have been killed, and there are some more who will soon meet the same fate; but what business is it of yours? You go off to your *jágír*." This speech made 'Imád-ul-Mulk's anger blaze forth, and he said, "I am not a sparrow, that you should kill me."† He then went his way to 'A'lam Khán, related what had passed, and added, "If you want to live a little longer you must put that wretch Jarjí out

* This passage is somewhat differently given in MS. A.
† In allusion to Jarjí's original occupation.

of the way, and shut the Sultán up in the city." He then went to his house and set off to his *jágír*.

'A'lam Khán, Wajíh-ul-Mulk, Alp Khán Khatrí, and all the army, with the exception of Burhán-ul-Mulk the *wazír*, came to a resolution that they would not wait upon the Sultán till they had killed Jarjí. So 'A'lam Khán and all the *amírs*, having armed, mounted their horses, went to the gibbet, carried away the bodies of the murdered men, and buried them in a befitting place. They then went to the great *masjid* near the gate of the palace, and took their post there.

The palace was blockaded, and remained so for three days. Then there was a scarcity of water in the palace, and the Sultán, being reduced to a strait, sent Burhán-ul-Mulk out to the insurgents to ascertain their demands, and what was the cause of the disturbance. They replied that they were the servants of the Sultán, they had no complaint to make against him, but that Jarjí must be sent out to them, for he was a scoundrel unworthy to be in the Sultán's presence, and was always inciting to evil and seeking the destruction of the loyal and faithful. There was a great discussion on this point, but the Sultán would not consent to give up Jarjí. At length Burhán-ul-Mulk said, "Do not press this matter further; except this, the Sultán will do whatsoever you desire." They agreed, and said, "We are no rebels, we are the subjects of the Sultán; take us to him, that we may make our obeisance and go away." The Sultán came out and held a public *darbár*, to which the nobles were summoned. One of them, who had been on terms of intimacy with Jarjí, sent him a message warning him not to attend the *darbár*, for if he did they would kill him. The villain, relying on his sovereign's favour, paid no heed to this friendly warning, and when the nobles had come in and were standing respectfully before the throne, that fated man came in insolently and half drunk, and, laying hold of one of the pillars of the throne, took his stand behind the Sultán. At the sight of him 'A'lam Khán's wrath was more than ever inflamed,

and he made a sign to his men to kill the scoundrel. Three of 'A'lam Khán's attendants, Sáíd Chánd of Mandú, Salíh Muhamad Alhadíah, and Malik Khitáb, the son of Láwan, drew their swords and attacked Jarjí. He tried to escape them, and crept under the royal throne. They dragged him out by his whiskers, and cut him to pieces; neither his cries nor the expostulations of the King were of any avail. The Sultán, in the excess of his rage, drew his dagger and stabbed himself in the abdomen, but Alp Khán stopped his hand, so that the dagger entered only a little way. There was a great tumult, and the body of Jarjí was dragged out and buried. The wound of the Sultán was dressed, and he was placed under a guard, and all authority was taken out of his hands. From henceforth, as in former days, he was kept under watch, and nothing was left in his power.

It is said that on the day when the Sultán bestowed the title of Muháfiz Khán on Jarjí, Afzal Khán said, in pretended ignorance, "Does anyone know to what tribe Muháfiz Khán belongs?" Malik Amín Kamál,* who was very ready and a sayer of witty things, replied, "Yes, I know. He is of the Parmár caste, and holds Nariád as his *grás*." Parmár is a Rájpút tribe, and Nariád a town in Gujarát. The play is on the words "Parmár"† and "Nariád;" that on Parmár is self-apparent; Nariád means also a long pole used for catching birds.

'A'lam Khán, Wajíh-ul-Mulk, Mujáhid Khán, and Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, who were the chief men both of the country and of the army, agreed among themselves that 'A'lam Khán himself should take charge of the Sultán for one day; Shujá'-ul-Mulk, brother of 'A'lam Khán, and Wajíh-ul-Mulk another day; Mujáhid Khán and Mujáhid-ul-Mulk Bhalím, with 'Azim Humáiún, who was 'A'lam Khán's foster-brother, the third day. They provided for the Sultán's safe keeping after this

* In some MS. "Kamandár," the box-bearer of the Sultán.
† *Par-már*, in Hindí, "bird-killer."

fashion, and after they returned to Ahmadábád the same system of rotation was kept up. When the Sultán wanted to play *chaugán* he played on a ground within the Bhadar, but he was not allowed to go outside the Bhadar.

Shujá'-ul-Mulk, brother of 'A'lam Khán, often used to make saucy jokes about Mujáhid Khán Bhalím, who was a fat man and had a big paunch. Tátár-ul-Mulk, *wazír* of Mujáhid Khán, who had the entire management of his affairs, was annoyed at these jokes, and took them in bad part. Mujáhid Khán and Mujáhid-ul-Mulk had an army of ten or twelve thousand horse, and they held a thousand villages as *jágír* in Sórath. One day the nobles, when in council together, said, "This watching over the Sultán is hardly politic, it would be better to blind him, and find some other boy to set up in his place. Indeed, what need is there of another boy? Let us divide the country among ourselves, and then let each man settle down in his portion." All agreed upon this, and they at once began the division, saying, "Let such and such a place be given to this man, and such a *sarkár* to another." Tátár-ul-Mulk asked what was to be given to his master, and Shujá'-ul-Mulk said, in joke, "Mujáhid Khán's paunch does not need any increase; he would be better if he could diminish it a little." Mujáhid Khán passed the matter by as a joke, and, the division having been arranged, the nobles retired to their several homes. But though Mujáhid Khán had paid no attention to Shujá'-ul-Mulk's joke, yet Tátár-ul-Mulk was much angered at it, and said, "This has been said ostensibly as a joke, but assuredly it hides some design. I must find out what is their intent and object as regards my master." Tátár-ul-Mulk used to visit the Sultán more frequently than anyone else. Before the council had broken up he rose up angrily and went to him. Finding an opportunity, he told him a little of what had passed. But it was evident that some intimation had already reached the Sultán that the nobles had determined to deprive him of sight and keep him in prison. When he understood this, the

Sultán wept, and cried out bitterly, "It would be better to kill me than to blind me."

That night [in A.H. 952, or A.D. 1545?] Tátár-ul-Mulk said privately to the Sultán, "I am your devoted servant, and I have something to say, if you will graciously listen to me." The Sultán feared that he might say something of the same sort as the son of Mukbil Khán did, and that it might bring him into increased misfortune; so he said, "What have you to say to me, and what do you expect of me?" He replied, "Your Majesty has heard of the resolve of the nobles, and you know what they intend. You must either submit to be blinded, or take measures for preventing it." The Sultán said, "Who will help me?" Tátár-ul-Mulk replied that Mujáhid Khán and Mujáhid-ul-Mulk had twelve thousand horse at their call, and that if the Sultán ordered he would bring them armed and ready two hours before day. The Sultán might then mount his horse, come out of the citadel, and give directions that the houses of 'A'lam Khán and Wajíh-ul-Mulk should be subjected to *halán*, *i.e.* to plunder. They would be asleep in fancied security, and, if it pleased God, before they could collect their troops they would fall alive into the Sultán's hands, or would be driven away into exile.

The Sultán desired him to bring Mujáhid Khán and Mujáhid-ul-Mulk, that they might satisfy him by swearing to him. They were near at hand, for on that night they and 'Azim Humáiún, 'A'lam Khán's kinsman, were on guard. Tátár-ul-Mulk brought them both in, and they pledged their oaths to the Sultán on the Kurán. The Sultán observed that 'Azim Humáiún was on guard also, and that he could not be kept in the dark. Tátár-ul-Mulk said that he would send him home, and at once got up and went to him, and began to talk familiarly with him. At that time 'Azim Humáiún was much enamoured of a singing-girl, and at all seasons and in all places he used to talk of his love and passion to his friends. Tátár-ul-Mulk, having engaged him in conversation, said,

"Why should anyone who has a trusty friend like me take upon himself all this trouble and inconvenience? Your men are present; go home and enjoy yourself. I understand, and will keep it quiet." 'Azim Humáiún said that 'A'lam Khán always sent someone round two or three times in the night to make inquiries about him. Tátár-ul-Mulk said, "Put a long pillow on your bed, and wrap a sheet round it, and direct one of your servants to sit at the foot of the bed, and to pretend to be shampooing your feet, so that the officer who comes from 'A'lam Khán may think you are asleep, and go away." 'Azim Humáiún did so.

Tátár-ul-Mulk then returned to the Sultán, and said to him, "I have sent 'Azim Humáiún home, and have brought five hundred of my own men into the palace-hall, and there are five or six thousand horsemen more, all armed and mounted, in the *bázár* of Rangpúr. Two *gharís* before dawn let the Sultán come out and mount his elephant, with the royal umbrella displayed over his head. Any of 'Azim Humáiún's men who are present must be put to death on the spot, and then let the Sultán march straight upon the houses of the rebels." Sultán Mahmúd accordingly came out of the palace in state before dawn. When the citizens saw him they assembled in crowds from all parts, and he gave his command for them to plunder the houses of the traitors, 'A'lam Khán and Wajíh-ul-Mulk, and not to allow them to escape alive. Tátár-ul-Mulk marched in front with the soldiers, and the Sultán followed more slowly behind.

The houses of 'A'lam Khán and Wajíh-ul-Mulk were outside the fort, near the gate of Jamálpúrah. These nobles had passed the night in carousing, and had gone to sleep in their cups, early in the morning, in perfect security. They had no suspicion of the calamity which that night was about to bring forth, for they had the army under their control, the Sultán in confinement and guarded by three or four thousand horse, all foreigners and devoted to their interests, and they never

dreamed that anyone had an evil design against them. But the Almighty brought on them what they never expected. The people in their houses were not yet awake when a great noise roused 'A'lam Khán. He went into the yard, and saw crowds of *bázár* people making their way towards his house, and shouting out that they were coming to plunder it and Wajíh-ul-Mulk's house under the orders of the Sultán, and that they were to be taken alive. As the Khán was confused, he hastily poured a pitcher of cold water over his head, mounted the horse of an orderly who was on guard, and rode off. He perceived that some horsemen blocked his way; he charged them and killed one of them, and the others let him pass. But they pursued him, and were joined by several others. Sálih Muhamad, son of Alhadíah, who killed Jarjí, with a brother of Shékh Arzání Multání, turned round, and, facing the pursuers, they strove gallantly till they were killed. This check enabled 'A'lam Khán to escape. 'A'lam Khán's house was thoroughly pillaged, and everyone of his family, small and great, were made prisoners.

The people of Gujarát say that there was a man, a soldier, by name Kabír Muhamad, who had passed most of his life in the service of 'A'lam Khán.* He had passed through many vicissitudes, and was experienced in the wiles of all living creatures. When 'A'lam Khán got the upper hand of the Sultán, and put him in confinement under a strong guard, but himself went to reside outside the city walls at Asáwal,†—and as 'Azim Humáiún was his foster-brother, he entrusted the Sultán to his safe keeping with perfect confidence, and, remaining at home, passed his time in ease and pleasure, in entertainments and in drinking,—Kabír Muhamad said to him, "Do you keep a lion chained up and remain at

* This story is given in the Hyderábád text and that of the lithographed version. It is retained as giving details of some interest as to the local topography; but, as it is only another version of the story told just before of Sálih Muhamad Alhadiah, it is given in a slightly abridged form.

† The lithographed text calls this "Asúriah," which is probably a corruption of "Asáwal," the name given in the Hyderábád MS.

home without disquiet? Either guard him as he ought to be guarded, and watch over him in person, or else be prepared for the consequences, and fear for the day when he shall get loose. He will turn everything upside down, and no one will be able to withstand him." But 'A'lam Khán never even gave him any answer, for, as all the nobles and the army were on his side, he did not take any heed to Kabír Muhamad's advice. But, as Kabír Muhamad was a very lion in valour, and had foreseen from the outset what would happen, he made a practice from the beginning of coming down fully armed and equipped at nightfall, and of remaining near 'A'lam Khán till the close of night. This experienced man thus awaited every night the event which actually happened, and on the very night before it occurred he was thus on guard over 'A'lam Khán. When the Sultán moved out with his troops to give 'A'lam Khán's house over to plunder, a man got up on a minaret near the Jamálpúrah gate,* and proclaimed that the Sultán had given an order for the plunder of 'A'lam Khán's house. 'A'lam Khán had been feasting and drinking up to a late hour at night, and had only recently gone to bed. When Kabír Muhamad heard the proclamation, he at once went to the outside of the female apartments and called out, "Wake up the Khán; the Sultán is at hand." A servant awoke 'A'lam Khán, who said, "What is all this turmoil?" Kabír Muhamad said, "It is the turmoil which I foresaw from the first; the lion who was chained up has broken his chain. You get off at once." 'A'lam Khán came out, and, mounting Kabír Muhamad's horse, rode away. Four horsemen attempted to seize the Khán, but Kabír Muhamad, who was exceedingly brave, unhorsed three out of the four; the fourth, however, disposed of him; and, thanks to Kabír Muhamad's loyalty and foresight, 'A'lam Khán got time to escape. May God look with mercy on Kabír Muhamad's faithfulness!

* This shows that "Asáwal," or "Asúriah," was within ear-shot of the Jamálpúrah gate of the city.

Wajíh-ul-Mulk's house was also plundered, but his family reached a place of concealment and were not seized.

When the Sultán reached the Jamálpúrah gate the mob were already carrying off the posts and beams from the houses of 'A'lam Khán and of Wajíh-ul-Mulk, and were calling out, "The scoundrels have got away, and have escaped." The Sultán returned, and when he came to the Rangpúr *bázár* he sent Abú Rab Khán, brother of Nasír-ul-Mulk, for Afzal Khán *wazír*, whose house stood by the way. When the Sultán reached his door, Afzal Khán came, kissed the Sultán's stirrup, and came along with him. This was the first time that Afzal Khán had come out of his cell since his retirement from the world, which has been already narrated. These events happened in the year H. 952 (A.D. 1545). After the plunder of the houses of 'A'lam Khán and Wajíh-ul-Mulk the Sultán was relieved from the usurpations of these two nobles, and his personal rule was re-established.

On his escape 'A'lam Khán went to Pithápúr, which is a natural stronghold. From thence he wrote to Dariá Khán, who was living in the Dakhin, saying that he repented of what he had done against him, for he now saw what was its result; and he urged Dariá Khán to join him at once, and to act in concert with him. Dariá Khán was living in very poor circumstances in the Dakhin. He had sold privately, and at very inadequate prices, some jewels which he had brought with him from Ahmadábád, and so subsisted. As soon as he was made aware that 'A'lam Khán had summoned him, he started in all haste. 'A'lam Khán came out to meet him, and they had an interview at a village called Ténrah. They conversed together, and when Dariá Khán saw that no ill-feeling existed, he said, "I deliberately kept the Sultán under restraint, for I saw that he could not distinguish friend from foe, and showed signs of conceit, incapacity, and love of low company." 'A'lam Khán said, "Do not speak of the past. What has occurred has occurred. It is now necessary to contrive some plan by which

we may secure our revenge." Dariá Khán said, "You know that I have long been oppressed by calamity, and I am in great poverty, and without means. Alp Khán is your friend, and living at Oklésar, on the banks of the Narbadah, three *kós* from Bharúj; you had better first go and see him, and, if possible, by his help see 'Imád-ul-Mulk also. This would be politic. Moreover, we might get some money from them for outfit and for collecting troops; for without money this would be very difficult."

'A'lam Khán started with five hundred horse, pushed on to Oklésar, and halted there. Alp Khán had gone to 'Imád-ul-Mulk at Bharúj. 'A'lam Khán sent a message, through Alp Khán's family, that he was starving, and begged that Alp Khán would send him some food. 'A'lam Khán and Alp Khán had been close friends with each other, but, now that Alp Khán was the Sultán's servant, it did not look well that he should entertain 'A'lam Khán the rebel. However, he could not help himself. His family, children, treasure-houses, were all at Oklésar, and on 'A'lam Khán's sudden arrival there the servants of Alp Khán supplied him with food, and sent a man to inform their master. Alp Khán exclaimed, "This man will ruin me, as he has ruined himself," and he told 'Imád-ul-Mulk what had happened. As has been already related, 'Imád-ul-Mulk had regained power and a *jágír* through 'A'lam Khán's favour; he was not, therefore, disposed to act ungenerously towards him. He accordingly sent a message to him to the effect that he had done wrong in coming in that direction. However, as he had come, he would give him an interview, if he came across the Narbadah secretly at night. 'A'lam Khán did this, and 'Imád-ul-Mulk and Alp Khán both met him. 'A'lam Khán said, "God sees in how great comfort and ease you both are, while I am in such trouble and misery!" Alp Khán said, "Your coming here has put us both in the same condition." 'A'lam Khán replied, "Not quite in the same condition. I have escaped, and am alive. You are still within the grasp of his

(the Sultán's) vengeance; he will certainly not allow you to remain alive. If you wish to prolong your days a little you had better join us. It was at 'Imád-ul-Mulk's suggestion that I put Jarjí to death. For my part, I have been guilty of no other offence." 'Imád-ul-Mulk answered, "You have altogether acted foolishly. When you had killed Jarjí, why were you so careless in keeping watch over the Sultán? The chain is off the lion's neck now. Is he likely to come back into captivity of his own accord?" 'A'lam Khán said, "The past has passed and gone; in future I will not fail to do my best." After a good deal of further discussion, Alp Khán and 'Imád-ul-Mulk gave 'A'lam Khán a certain amount of money and sent him away.

'A'lam Khán returned to Dariá Khán and reported what had passed. Dariá Khán said, "My object was not so much to obtain money as to get the names of these two nobles mixed up with ours. They can hardly now have the face to go to the Sultán and to take his side, and, whether they like it or not, they will be compelled to join us." Intelligence of these proceedings reached the ears of the Sultán, and made him very anxious. At this time a letter arrived from 'Imád-ul-Mulk, representing that 'A'lam Khán and Dariá Khán were two old servants of the State, and it was not expedient that they should at that time go away and enter into the service of Shír Sháh of Dehlí, but it would be better to condone their faults, and to reinstate them in office and employ them on the frontier. The Sultán consented to this.

'A'lam Khán, however, just at this time, behaved in a manner which gave fresh offence, which was this:—When 'A'lam Khán's house was plundered he escaped, but his family fell into the hands of the Sultán. He consigned them to guardians, and appointed eunuchs to keep them with all possible care. 'A'lam Khán made a proposal, through Sáid Mubárak Bukhárí, to send his son, Safdar Khán, for the Sultán to keep in exchange for his women and children. The proposal was

accepted. Safdar Khán was sent for, and the women and family were released. Safdar Khán was placed in charge of Sáíd Mubárak, and the Sáíd kept him, with all courtesy, in an upper chamber of his house. Matters went on in this way for some time, when 'A'lam Khán sent one of his old dependants, named Sádhu Tánk, to get Safdar Khán secretly away from the Sáíd. Sádhu, by means of a ladder, secretly got Safdar Khán out of the Sáíd's house, and brought him to 'A'lam Khán. This affair greatly annoyed the Sáíd, and made him very angry with 'A'lam Khán, because it was only out of consideration to the Sáíd that the Sultán had agreed to 'A'lam Khán's request. The Sultán also was troubled, for he feared lest 'A'lam Khán, Dariá Khán, 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and Alp Khán should conspire and raise a rebellion.

Sultán Mahmúd wrote a friendly letter to 'Imád-ul-Mulk, saying that he knew him to be loyal, and looked upon him as an uncle, and that it would not be right in him to assist 'A'lam Khán and Dariá Khán, who were raising disturbances on the borders and out-of-the-way corners of the kingdom; and he invited him to come quickly and give his counsel as to the means of suppressing them. 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who, in consequence of his interviews with 'A'lam Khán and Dariá Khán, was afraid to face the Sultán, wrote excusing himself from attending till his army was collected and equipped. The Sultán then sent him another and more urgent summons, to which he replied, in plain terms, that he knew he had done very wrong in meeting 'A'lam Khán, but he had wished to give him good advice in full loyalty to the Sultán. Still, he had acted without the Sultán's knowledge, and knew himself to have offended. If the Sultán would send to him the holy Sáíd 'Arab Sháh, son of Sáíd Záhid Bukhárí, to conduct him to the royal presence, with a full assurance of pardon for his offences, he would accompany the Sáíd.

The Sultán went to the house of Sáíd 'Arab Sháh, and asked him to undertake the mission. The Sáíd replied that

he was a *fakír* and had nothing to do with the affairs of the world—the Sultán was king, who was accustomed to act upon his own opinion, and who had wise advisers to guide him. *Fakírs* gave themselves up to prayer and did not trouble themselves with worldly matters, and the Sultán should not ask them to undertake such duties. The Sultán placed his hand on the Holy Book and said, "I assure you, upon this Word of God which lies before us, that I will do no injury to the life, the property, or the honour of 'Imád-ul-Mulk." The Säíd said to Afzal Khán, "The Sultán is young, but you are a wise man; why do you trouble me with this affair?" The *wazír* said, "I also swear upon the Kurán, for I am quite satisfied of the Sultán's intentions. Do not let any mistrust creep into your heart; go, take the hand of 'Imád-ul-Mulk, and bring him to the presence." Being thus assured of the Sultán's intentions the Säíd proceeded to Bharúj.

The Sultán marched against 'A'lam Khán and Dariá Khán, who were at Chámpánír, and the Säíd proceeded to Bharúj and saw 'Imád-ul-Mulk. He said, "Khán Jíú! why did you write requiring that 'Arab Sháh should come and conduct you to Court? This was not right of you. As the matter stands the Sultán and Afzal Khán have both sworn to me on the Holy Kurán that they will do you no injury; for the rest, you are aware of all the tricks and doings of worldly men. I myself do not understand them. If you think it advisable, come; if not, you can do as you like; but don't say to yourself, 'The 'Arab Sháh has come to fetch me, and therefore I *ought* to go.' If you do not wish to come, it is very simple not to do so; but if you do, and if—which God forbid—anything untoward should occur, I shall say to everyone that the blame rests not with me, but on yourself. I am not a minstrel, that I should rip myself up if the Sultán does you any wrong, nor have I an army to fight him; I am but a *fakír*. What can *I* do? Whatever step you take, take it only after full consideration and reflection." 'Imád-ul-Mulk replied, "I am an old man, and they

have sworn an oath; if the Sultán harms me the matter is between him and God." So he went, although his friends and well-wishers advised him not to go, but to lead fourteen or fifteen thousand picked horse to the frontier and take up a position there; as 'A'lam Khán and Dariá Khán were in arms, the Sultán would be obliged to come to terms with him. 'Imád-ul-Mulk refused to listen to them, and said he was not going to turn traitor at the end of his life. He was an old servant of the dynasty, and would not wrong it, nor was the Sultán likely to harm him. He marched with ten or twelve thousand men fully armed and accoutred, and waited upon the Sultán at Chámpánír.

The Sultán was much pleased, received him very graciously, and gave to him, his kindred, and the nobles who accompanied him, advance in rank. Matters went on quietly for some time, till one night some seditious person, whose name was not known and who was never discovered, without the Sultán's knowledge* raised a cry that the Sultán had given orders for the plundering of the tents of 'Imád-ul-Mulk; and before his troops were assembled, the tents were thoroughly sacked. Although this nobleman was a brave man, and had been known as "the second Rustám," he had not the spirit or the strength left to mount a horse and make his escape to Bharúj, or to go and join 'A'lam Khán. In great trouble he took the hand of a bearer and asked to be led to the tent of Sáíd Mubárak. As they went along, in the darkness of the night, the Malik fell into a small well which the people of the camp had dug. The well was not deep, and its water was pure. In the morning, a person who came to draw water saw someone at the bottom of the well. He pulled him out, and then recognised 'Imád-ul-Mulk, who was half dead, but asked that he might be taken to the tent of Sáíd Mubárak, and the man took him there. On reaching the tent the Sáíd came out to meet him,

* The MS. A. alone has this distinct assertion of the Sultán's ignorance of the transaction.

and received him with great kindness and respect. 'Imád-ul-Mulk then asked the Sáíd to go to the Sultán and beg that "his old slave might be set at liberty, and sent to the House of God (*sc.* Makkah)."

When the Sultán heard of the plundering of the tents, he was amazed and highly indignant. He declared that he had not given the order for it, and made active endeavours to discover the promoter of the outrage. Of the plunderers who were taken, some had their hands or feet or ears cut off, or their noses slit. Orders were given that 'Imád-ul-Mulk should be sought, for the Sultán was afraid he might go and join 'A'lam Khán, and cause much trouble. Just then Sáíd Mubárak arrived and communicated the Malik's request. The Sultán was very pleased, granted his request, and said he should be sent to Makkah. He sent for the Malik and gave him into the charge of Sídí Pír Jíú and Sídí Amín Jíú, two retainers of Jhújár Khán, the Abyssinian, who were to take him to Súrat and place him under the protection of Khudáwand Khán Rúmí, the *jágírdár*, who was desired to send him to Makkah at the proper season. It was during the month of fasting that this occurred. One evening, after the day's fast was over, Pír Jíú, thinking it unbecoming to drink before the Malik, handed to him his own drinking-bottle* of cooled water. The Malik was annoyed, and said that it was an insult to ask him to drink out of the bottle which Pír Jíú himself used. Pír Jíú replied that he was himself the humblest of the Malik's slaves, but was obliged to obey the Sultán's orders†; and it was the ordinary course of events that a man should at one time gallop over the heavens, and another time should walk barefoot in rocky places. He was a true man who, in all events, did not allow himself to go beyond his proper place. Eventually they brought the Malik to Khudáwand Khán, who,

* *Suráhí* is the word in most versions. Apparently the Malik considered Pír Jíú either as a Sídí, or a servant much beneath him in station.

† This clause is omitted in MS. A.

out of an ancient grudge, and without the Sultán's intervention,* on the 27th of the month of Ramazán, put the Malik to death with cruel tortures, and gave out that he had sent him off to Makkah. Everyone recognised that Ikhtiár Khán was unjustly put to death, and that 'Imád-ul-Mulk had come to misfortune on that account, as has been already said.

After the fall of 'Imád-ul-Mulk the Sultán sent Sáid Mírán Mubárak to attack 'A'lam Khán and Dariá Khán. He put them to flight and returned victorious. Then the Sultán directed Násir-ul-Mulk to pursue them and drive them out of Gujarát. They lingered for some days in the jungles of Málwah, but they were eventually driven out. Then they went and joined themselves to Shír Sháh Afghán Súr, King of Dehlí. After this the power and authority of the Sultán were completely re-established.

The history called "Tuhfat-us-Sádát," written by Arám Kashmírí, for Sáid Hazrat Mubárak, records these facts, and from that work the foregoing account has been abstracted. That author states that after the Sultán had passed the age of fifteen or sixteen and approached twenty, he was able to distinguish good from bad and a friend from a stranger. Some nobles, whom he regarded as seditiously inclined he uprooted, and others he drove out of the country; when this was done he carried on his rule with justice and conciliation. After the (close of) that history there is no other from which facts such as should form the basis of history can be ascertained. Wherefore, the humble author of this work has compiled a record of the subsequent occurrences as he best could. Although Sikandar, the author of this work, was only born in the year of the death of Sultán Mahmúd, in the city of

* This clause occurs only in the MS. A. The tenour of MS. A. is to disclaim all complicity of the Sultán in the cruel and treacherous treatment of 'Imád-ul-Mulk. The other texts all seem rather to imply that the Sultán, though he professed innocence, was not altogether benevolently inclined, to say the least of it, towards the Malik. Indeed, the anecdote above given in the text seems intended to intimate as much, though deprived of its point by the clause omitted in MS. A.; and at p. 408, it has been already averred that the Sultán had 'Imád-ul-Mulk put to death.

Mahmúdábád, which was that Sultán's residence, and was an infant in arms at the time of the murder, still, many of the events of those days were known to his father and brothers, from whom he obtained his information. He has also profited by the knowledge of others, and reduced the whole to a narrative in writing.

After the consolidation of the Sultán's rule he recalled A'saf Khán, who was formerly the *wazír* of the late Sultán Bahádar, whom that king, in the days when his throne was threatened by the calamities inflicted by the Emperor Humáiún, had sent to Makkah with his treasure and the females of the royal establishment. A'saf Khán was raised to the office of grand *wazír*, and his brother Khudáwand Khán was made *díwán-i-kul*.* Afzal Khán Baniání, who had been *wazír* of Sultán Bahádar, was confirmed in his previous appointments, and his dignity and his influence were largely augmented. As A'saf Khán had long retired from office the general management of affairs was in the hands of Khudáwand Khán, but no business of importance was settled or carried out without the advice and approbation of A'saf Khán. All the nobles about Court received advancement, and among them the chief of Sáíds, Sáíd Mubárak, so that he ranked equally high as a noble and as a saint. Abú Jíú Gujarátí was made Násir-ul-Mulk, and 'Abd-ul-Karím was entitled I'timád Khán. The latter was employed by the Sultán in his most secret and private affairs, nor was there anyone in whom the Sultán had greater confidence or whom he admitted to so close an intimacy as I'timád Khán. He even took him by the hand and led him into his harem, where he employed him in the superintendence of the ornaments, dresses, and jewels of the women. And this he did, although he was of a disposition so jealous that if two of his women smiled at each other he had them both killed. But his confidence in I'timád Khán was so great that he placed him in such a charge.

* Some MSS. read "*wakíl-i-kul*."

It is related that one day I'timád Khán whispered something in the ear of the Sultán while holding a public *darbár*, and the Sultán listened to him. The ministers noticed this very unbecoming proceeding, looked at each other, and when the court was over went home. Next day, and for five or six days in succession, none of them attended the *darbár*, or paid his respects to the Sultán. At last the Sultán asked the courtiers the reason why no one had presented himself, and inquired if they had all fallen ill simultaneously. When he found they were not ill he sent someone to summon them, and asked them why they had feigned sickness. They replied that they had discharged the duties of their offices to the best of their ability, but when they saw that they could no longer do so they had withdrawn. The Sultán told them to explain if they wished him to forgive them. They said that if in a council the Sultán whispered secretly to one person, it was a mark of disrespect (to the others), and that no good could be expected from ministers who were not treated with respect, for they lost all their power and the Sultán ought to give it to someone else. It was open to the Sultán to speak in any way he pleased in private to whomsoever he chose, but he ought not to act so in public. The Sultán apologised, and for the rest of his life never again thus acted in opposition to etiquette.

A'ká Arslán, a Turk from Balkh, was made 'Imád-ul-Mulk and promoted to high honour; he was a purchased slave belonging to the Sultán. The son of Khudáwand Khán Rúmí who was killed at Díú was created Rúmí Khán, and the Sultán pushed his fortune.

The Sultán gave to one of the *Khásiah khéls* the title of Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk,* and put him in command of the Moghal division of his troops. The Sultán distributed all his forces into divisions according to their tribes, and placed in command of each division a person of their own kindred. Thus he

* According to MS. A., Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk was a brother of Khudáwand Khán.

placed Hasan Khán Dakhiní in command of the Dakhiní troops; Fateh Khán Bilúch had another division, and was promoted to high rank. In this manner the Sultán reduced the nobles and army into such a state of discipline that no deviation from, or disobedience of, his orders was possible.

The Sultán now conceived the design of conquering Málwah and consulted with A'saf Khán the *wazír* on the subject. The Khán said that he could direct the Sultán to the conquest of a kingdom not less important than that of Málwah; indeed, it was even more important. This was what he meant: A fourth part of Gujarát, called Bánth (Wántá), was in the hands of Rájpúts and Grássiahs. If his Majesty could oust these, and get it into the possession of Muhamadans, it would furnish *jágírs* sufficient for maintaining twenty-five thousand horse. The army would thus be increased, and the conquest of Málwah would afterwards be a very easy matter. The Sultán accordingly directed his attention to the accomplishment of this object and the raising of an army. Grássiahs were ejected from the lands which they held, and officers were appointed to collect the revenues. He then moved in the direction of the country of the Grássiahs.

The Grássiah chiefs of I'dar, Siróhí, Dungarpúr, Bánsbalah, Lonáwárah, Rájpíplah, the banks of the Mahindrí, Halód, and other strongholds on the frontier began to raise disturbances. But the Sultán strengthened his military posts. He placed a garrison at Siróhí, another at I'dar, and he also occupied the other places mentioned. The whole of the country was managed upon one settled plan, and the turbulent Grássiahs and rebellious occupants of the strongholds were reduced to obedience. No Rájpút or Kólí was left who did not devote himself to agriculture and live in quiet obedience like other men. Every man of them was branded on the arm, and if any Rájpút or Kólí was found without the brand he was put to death.

In the reign of Mahmúd, Muhamadan law and rule was so

stringently enforced that no Hindú could ride on horseback in any city, nor dared enter a *bázár* without a patch of red on the back of a white garment, or a patch of white on a red one, or to wear a dress all of one colour. Infidel observances, such as the indecencies of the *Holí*, the orgies of the *Díwálí*, and the practice of idol worship, and the ringing of bells* were not allowed in public, and those who practised them in private did so with fear and trembling. After the murder of the Sultán the Grássiahs made a stone image of his murderer Burhán, which they worshipped as a god, and they said, "This is our preserver, who brought us from death unto life; for if that system had continued for one year longer we should have died of hunger, and have been swept out of existence."

These are the names of the chief Säíds and holy men who lived during the Sultán's reign. Of the Säíds of Batóh, whose noble family is known as the Bukháriah, and who are descendants of the Kutb-ul-Kutab Säíd Burhán-ud-dín, there was 'Arab Sháh, who was by descent the grandson of Burhán-ud-dín; Säíd Shékh Muhamad, surnamed Säíd Jíú, and Säíd Azmat Ullah (the second), who were one degree further in descent from the same ancestor; and Shékh Husén, who was descended in the fourth degree from him. Besides these were their relations Säíd Tahír, Muhamad Säíd, Pír Muhamad, and Säíd Háfiz Muhamad and Mír Säíd Sháh Kamál, and their father Säíd Sháh Mirzá, and Säíd Adam, son of Säíd 'A'lam, who was a grandson of Säíd 'Usmán, one of the elder of Burhán-ud-dín's sons, and whom his father used to call the "Burhání lamp"; he built 'Usmánpúrah, to the north-west of Ahmadábád; his tomb there is well known. Sultán Mahmúd was a zealous disciple of Säíd 'A'lam, who died in the month Jamád-ul-awal, A.H. 963. Another was Mír Säíd Wajíh-ud-dín Aslaví.

Of other noted Säíds and devout and holy men, were Shékh

* This follows MS. A.; but the passage is not quite clear in any of the texts.

Alahdad Mutawakil, Shékh 'Alí Mutakí, and Muhamad Ghiás of the Shatarí sect, that is to say, who were spiritually descended from Shékh Báiázíd of Bistám; Khwájah 'Abd-ul-wáhid, who was a descendant and successor of Khwájah 'Abd Ullah-ul-'Azízí; also Shékh Husén. Their ancestors came from a large village in Marv-un-nahr, which was called 'Azíz. Another was Shékh Muhamad Máh, whose family came from Jónpúr, a city in the east of Hindústán; and Shékh Jamál, known as of Bhítrí, a town in the Dakhin from which he originally came. Another holy Säíd was Mián Jíú, and another also Säíd Kutb Kádrí, who came from Baghdád.

In the great city of Bharúj, a great many learned and holy men, both Säíds and others, were collected, and used to instruct those who were seeking after God in His holy law and faith. Among these was Mián Ghiás-ud-dín. At the port of Súrat was Shékh Kamál-ud-dín, who belonged to the Hamadání school, that is, he followed the teaching of Mír Säíd 'Alí Hamadání. Sultán Mahmúd maintained a close friendship with all these holy and learned men, and diligently examined their teaching. He continued the allowances which had been paid to them in the times of former kings, and besides gave to all Säíds with whom he was intimate offerings on the occasions of his victories. He also granted new allowances to deserving men, whether they lived in towns or in the country. He was a great friend to *fakírs*, and was always mindful of their interests. He had wells made in many places for their benefit and that of travellers. He prepared houses for their reception and appointed keepers of these houses, who were to attend to the comfort of the occupants and supply them with necessaries. Frequently when he had a dish before him which he enjoyed he used to ask whether *fakírs* had the same food; and when his attendants asked whence the poor were to get it, he would give orders that a quantity of it should be prepared and sent to them. The *fakírs* were often entertained after this fashion. In the winter season he gave good coats, reaching

from head to foot, to the virtuous and pious persons who dwelt in *masjids* and colleges; he also gave them quilts to keep them warm at night. When he was informed that some disreputable persons sold them, he directed that they should be made large enough to cover several persons, because it was not likely that a whole party would agree to sell their covering. Great heaps of wood were burnt every night in the streets and *bázárs*, so that the destitute might sit round the fires. It was also a rule that the fruits of each season, such as sugar-cane, plantains, mangoes, and melons, should be distributed among the *fakírs* as they ripened; nor would he allow any to be brought into his own house till this was done. In fact, his bounties exceeded all description. Indeed, several great and holy Sáíds of Arabia, such as the descendants of that Sun of Suns, Sáíd Abubekr I'drús, abandoned altogether their own land, and, attracted by the Sultán's benevolence, settled at Ahmadábád.

There is a story* told in Gujarát of a certain man, a Muhamadan, who came to the Sultán and said, "I am a man of good family, and in spite of my ancestors' good works I am very poor. The Prophet of the Lord appeared to me by night in a dream and said, 'I give you one hundred *lakhs* of *tankahs*; go, get them from Sultán Mahmúd; and this shall be your proof, that he blesses me one hundred thousand times a day.'" The Sultán said, "I could give you the money, but your proof is not in accordance with fact." The man replied, "What I heard from the lips of the beloved of the Lord, that I speak." It came to pass that the Sultán also saw that Holy One in a dream, who said, "What that man said was true; the blessing which you pronounce on me once a day is worth a hundred thousand meaningless blessings."† In the morning the Sultán desired the man to be sent for with all respect; and when they

* This anecdote appears only in the lithographed text.

† The text is here somewhat doubtful, but the approximate meaning is given.

brought him he gave him not only the money he had asked, but also settled an annual allowance on him. They tell this story of Mahmúd Bígarha also.

It is said that when Sultán Mahmúd was relieved from all anxiety regarding the nobles whom he had defeated, and had no further fear from that quarter, he became reassured and at his ease, and in the year H. 953 he removed from Ahmadábád and took up his residence at Mahmúdábád, and there laid out a magnificent palace, which he called the "Deer Park,"* the like of which was never seen upon the earth. Its length was two farsangs, and its breadth that of a battle-field.† He directed the construction in each corner of a pavilion, decorated and adorned in various ways, and having many of the ceilings and walls gilded. From the door of each pavilion on either side extended a *bázár* with rows of shops, and in each shop was a fairy-like *húrí*, who sold everything that conduced to pleasure and delight—provisions of every sort, all things pleasing to the disposition of mortals; fruits of all kinds that are good to eat and pleasant to the taste. In every retired corner pleasure-gardens were laid out, in which perpetual verdure was maintained by means of watercourses. The trunks of the trees enclosing them were dressed with brocades and velvets, and their branches with satin and *kinkháb*; and the soil was watered with rose-water in place of common water. In this beautiful garden, the very triumph of the art of gardening, the Sultán would pass his time with his deer-eyed spouses, and in the enjoyment of all the pleasures of youth. Sometimes he would make his chief huntsman drive deer, *nilgái*, and other animals, from the jungles into this enclosure; and then, when the sun was gradually sinking and the moon gradually rising in the sky, the Sultán would go out hunting in the company of his darlings. On the day of the

* "Deer park," *A'hákhánah*.

† "Battle-field," *maidán-i-jang*; perhaps only a parade-ground. The "Mirát-i-Ahmadí" has *maidán-i-asp tákhtan*, "a ground for galloping horses."

I'd the elephants and horses were so adorned with jewels and gold, and so decorated, as had never been the case under any former king.

In commemoration* of the birth of the Holy Prophet, every year, from the 1st to the 12th of Rabí'-ul-awal, the Sultán used to assemble all the learned and holy men and all the Shékhs of the city, and they read the holy and excellent book of perfect wisdom till the expiry of the first watch of the day. A feast was then served in honour of the victorious spirit of the Lord of Prophets, the Prophet of God, to which feast the holy men were invited with all respect; and after they had finished they returned to their homes. On the 12th day the Sultán used to take on himself the office of waiting on these holy men; he, in person, poured water on their holy hands. His chief *wazírs* carried the plates, and all his nobles, acting as servants, served out the food. Till the entertainment was concluded, all of them waited standing; and after the feast the Sultán distributed to every one of the guests money and clothes enough to subsist them till the next anniversary of the festival. Furthermore, they brought clothes and Dakhiní stuffs such as the king used for his personal clothing, and employed them as table-cloths, and these very stuffs were afterwards cut up for the Sultán's clothing; and he wore the clothes made of them throughout the following year. This custom had been handed down from the time of Sultán Muzaffar, the son of Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha, but Sultán Mahmúd had greatly extended it in every particular.

On the 12th of Rabí'-ul-awal this year† the Sultán had, as

* The narrative, from this to the point where the nobles choose the Sultán's successor, generally follows the lithographed text. All the others are more or less imperfect or fragmentary. A few additions, however, from the other MSS. have been adopted, and the repetitions of the narrative and some redundances of language have been omitted. It is for the most part borne out by the Hyderábád MS.; but even these MSS. are unsatisfactory, and are apparently made up of fragments of differing versions of the story; and details are given often much out of their place, and are repeated in some cases under two or three forms.

† A.H. 961 [A.D. 1553], see *post*, p. 453.

usual, invited the holy men, and the reading of the Word of God had been finished. After that they were feasted, and after the feast fruits of various kinds were served; and when they had finished eating, the Sultán lifted up his hands in prayer and prayed as if his supplication had been drawn forth by the near approach of the honour of martyrdom and by the mercy of absolution; and when he dismissed his guests he distributed money and clothes in the manner above described, and then hastened to his private chamber, for he was weary with the labour of waiting and the trouble of the arrangements, and he lay down to sleep. Just then, feeling thirsty, he called for some *sharbat* and water. A certain villainous evil-doer, who was called by the ill-omened name of Burhán, was present, and apparently that villain had been waiting the occurrence of such an opportunity, so brought some poisoned *sharbat*. The Sultán, who suspected no treachery or snare, drank off the draught and tried to go to sleep. Shortly after, he felt a pain in his head, and was altogether very unwell, and said, "You villain, what was that you gave me to drink?" Burhán answered, "O King! and Protector of the World! the labours of the feast have affected your brain, and you are not well; try to go to sleep that the effect may pass away." It was after the second watch of the night that the Sultán went to sleep again, and then that villain, fearing lest the poison had failed to do its work, drew a Dárínî dagger and stabbed the Sultán in the throat and killed him.

I have been told by several trustworthy persons in Gujarát, some of whom were living at that time and were eye-witnesses of the facts, and, moreover, I have heard from my own elder relatives, the history of Burhán, accursed in this world and the next, from the beginning, which was as follows:—The name of the father of that villainous evil-doer was Píárah; he was a man of low caste, and was employed in some menial capacity by the Sultán. Afterwards he rose to high office, that is to say, he was made the chief of the stables of the Sultán's own

cavalry. He happened to have a son who was called Burhán, and who was not altogether devoid of good looks; the Sultán saw him and was pleased with him. The Sultán, in the beginning of his reign, was entirely under the influence of his *wazírs*, and did nothing whatever without their knowledge. Nevertheless, his wishes and tastes were as strongly fixed as ever in his disposition, and when he was firmly established in his kingdom he began to indulge himself, and was captivated by any agreeable person, man or woman. Moreover, from the beginning to the end he was a man of low tastes, and delighted in low company, as has been before related. This evil-doer Burhán pleased him on both grounds, and he promoted him to be his shoe-bearer. One day Afzal Khán, the *wazír*, saw him as he was cleaning the Sultán's shoes, and asked who the lad was who had been exalted to this post. They told him that he was the son of Píárah, the chief of the stables. Afzal Khán said to the Sultán, "O Sultán, you ought not to have employed this lad in your service, and ought not to have exalted him all at once to so high a post." The Sultán replied, "The lad was born in my house; no treachery or fraud is to be apprehended from him." Afzal Khán said again, "I see from his eyes and perceive from his bearing that he is capable of doing—what God avert!—a mischief to your Majesty." But the Sultán thought that no evil would come of him.

That villain, accursed in both worlds, was often the subject of discussion between Afzal Khán and the Sultán. When that accursed one grew up into the flower of his youth and vigour, he began to addict himself to abominable licentiousness and to drinking wine. Not only are these things plainly forbidden by the sacred law, and whoever is guilty of them is liable to legal punishment, but, also, Sultán Mahmúd had commanded all his *wazírs* and great nobles to give up the house of anyone guilty of either of these two offences to *halán*, that is, to plunder. Burhán having given himself up to both vices,

the fact was one day told to the Sultán, who ordered that they should build the scoundrel into a wall. His father and mother went to Afzal Khán the *wazír*, and humbly entreated him, saying that they had this only son, and begged him to procure his pardon. The Khán went to the Sultán and begged him off. If he had abstained from doing so a little longer that villain would have been destroyed, for they had already built him in up to his shoulders. As Providence had decreed that evil should be wrought unjustly against the Sultán by that wicked creature, Afzal Khán, who from the very first day had foreseen the evil which he was eventually to work, and who had used all his wisdom and foresight to prevent that evil, still procured his release from that position. Afzal Khán, however, was always mistrustful of him after that day, and endeavoured to prevent his being with the King in public or private, or having any share in the King's counsel, and did not allow him to be present when the King was consulting with his *wazírs*; indeed, in order to prevent his being present on such occasions, he professed to be hard of hearing, and said to the Sultán, "I do not know whether it is from my great age, or if something has made me unwell, but in any case I cannot hear well, and if you speak low I cannot perfectly catch what is said; and persons who are thus affected talk as they wish others to talk, and raise their voices. Wherefore, it is better that when the Sultán's affairs are under discussion that person should not be present, for I believe he will make secrets public and do mischief." From thenceforth he was generally employed on business at a distance from the Sultán. Nevertheless, there was not any proposal of which that rebel at heart and follower of Satan did not know. At last one day the Sultán said, "My ancestors, when they had reduced the entire kingdom of Gujarát into their possession, wrested the forts of Chámpánír and Júnahgarh from the infidels. I wish you would consider what amount of troops and what treasure ought to be kept in Chámpánír." That villain happened to be

present, and made use of this utterance of the Sultán for his purposes.

Burhán contracted a great intimacy with a lad, a professional singer, and always kept him with him. One day the Sultán went out hunting with his ladies in the Deer Park at Mahmúdábád, and that villain, in the Sultán's absence, went with that lad and unlawful drink, and, sitting under a tree, began to enjoy himself without the least idea that the Sultán would come that way. It so happened that the Sultán loosed his hawks after a bird which flew in that direction, and the Sultán, pursuing it, suddenly came upon that villain and saw him with his own eyes. He said, "You evil-doer, I did not believe what men told me of you, but now I have beheld with my own eyes, and, please God, you shall be punished for this." Having said this, the Sultán went on in pursuit of the bird. That villain, who had once before incurred the Sultán's wrath, felt that this time his life would be in danger. He said, "It is better to be beforehand, and, before the Sultán can take measures about this, I had better take measures against him." That wicked man had gained such influence and position with the Sultán, that all the Sultán's eatables and drinkables, and the Sultán's narcotics were sealed with his seal. The morning following the afternoon on which the Sultán had discovered him in that disgraceful condition and had reviled him, was the 12th day of Rabí'-ul-awal, the Prophet's birthday, when the Sultán entertained all the learned and holy men of the city. From the 11th, on which day the Sultán came upon him while hunting, he said nothing on the subject, but was employed all day in waiting on the assemblage, as has been already described. After it was over and the guests had been dismissed, the Sultán went to his private room. That villain (Burhán) was in waiting there. The Sultán called for a narcotic. Burhán went and poisoned some and brought it together with a goblet of poisoned water. The Sultán ate some of the poisoned *ma'jún*, and drank some poisoned water

after it, and then laid down to sleep. After a brief lapse of time the Sultán felt very ill. When he was a little better, he said, "You villain, what kind of narcotic was that which you gave me to eat?" That villain came forward, and said: "Your Majesty has been continually standing for the last ten days, and unduly fatiguing yourself, and your brain is confused; but it is nothing; take a little more *ma'jún* and go to sleep." The Sultán did as that villain suggested; he took some more *ma'jún* and composed himself to sleep, never again to wake till the Day of Resurrection. When that bad man perceived that the Sultán was asleep, he took his dagger and stabbed the Sultán in the throat so that he died. And thus this villain became accursed both in this world and in the next.

When he hatched this wicked design in his brain, that villain proposed to raise himself to the throne of Gujarát. He therefore, that very same night, despatched several of the nobles and *wazírs*, who were the pillars of the State, to the realms of death together with the Sultán. It was managed thus:—Some days previously the Sultán had been discussing with these nobles the subject of the defences of the fort of Chámpánír. Burhán made use of this discussion as a blind. He first looked about him for some body of men on whom he could rely. The late Sultán Mahmúd had got together a body of men who were called *Bágh-már*, that is, "Tiger-slayers." They amounted to about twelve hundred in number, and were under the personal orders of the Sultán, and had nothing to do with any of the *wazírs*. Burhán sent for the leaders of these men, and concealed them in a small ante-chamber, and told them that it was the Sultán's order that whosoever came into that ante-chamber, high or low, they were to kill him, and on no account to let him get away and escape. He then sent someone to fetch A'saf Khán, the chief of the *wazírs*, a man whose judgment and experience were such that if Joseph the son of Barachia had been living in his time, even he would have sought instruction from him.

Burhán told the man to give this message: "The King says that some time ago I said I would discuss with you the garrisoning of the fort of Chámpánír. I have to-night collected all the nobles and *wazírs*; we only wait for your arrival. Come as quickly as possible, that the affair may at once be put into shape."

A'saf Khán, when he heard this message, at once got up and went off by himself. When he arrived at the *darbár*, that accursed scoundrel, running up, saluted him, saying, "The King and all the nobles have arrived, but desire your advice; they have just gone through that ante-chamber." When the Khán entered the ante-chamber, he saw the band of men who were sitting there; but, believing that accursed one to be honest, he went in among them, and three of them got up and cut the Khán to pieces. In the same fashion twelve (other) nobles of name, and great ministers—such that if one of them had lived, the kingdom would never have passed out of the hands of the Gujarátís—in that same assembly, and in that same night, all perished and were destroyed.

When Burhán sent a man to call Afzal Khán, the latter said to the messenger, "The message which you have delivered never came from the Sultán's lips; the Sultán never sends for anyone at this hour. What you say is impossible." The messenger went back and gave this reply. A second messenger was then sent, and told to say: "The Sultán says your conduct is not right; even if I have to come and fetch you myself, you must come; the *wazírs* and nobles are all assembled, and are waiting for you. Come quickly, that the Chámpánír business may be settled." When the Khán again excused himself, his wife pressed him, saying, "You ought to go when the Sultán desires you. Why do you delay?" He replied, "You foolish woman! the words that this man speaks have a smell of blood about them. Whatever they may say, those words never came out of the Sultán's mouth. If you wish to be at ease about me, you should not make me go. What this

man says is full of deceit and treachery." His wife still urged him to go, but the Khán declined. Again Burhán sent a messenger, saying, "The Sultán declares that, if you do not come, he will come and fetch you. You must come without fail; the council is waiting for you." The Khán still wished to excuse himself, but his wife still pressed him, and Shirwán Khán Bhattí, whom he had brought up as a son, and had raised to high position and honour, came in and also urged him, saying that he ought to go, lest the Sultán should be offended. Afzal Khán said: "I have told you that these messages are false and treacherous, and yet you urge me to go." Then, calling for his children and dependants, he bid them all a last farewell, and, quickly getting into his *pálkí*, set off. When he arrived at the *darbár*, that villain came out to meet him. There had been quite recently a slight coolness between the Sultán and Afzal Khán, and one Malik Shark had been appointed to supersede Afzal Khán; nevertheless, no business was transacted without the latter's concurrence. Burhán, however, thought that Afzal Khán might possibly be not altogether loyal to the Sultán; so he met him and, speaking in a fawning manner, said: "God has removed your enemy. If you will take me by the hand, the whole of Gujarát will be yours, without a rival." As soon as Afzal Khán heard this, he cried out: "Thou villainous bastard! what dost thou mean? There is a savour of blood in your words. Be quick, thou accursed one! and show me my master." Burhán replied: "Khán Jíú, you are always unjustly suspecting me of evil. What have I done to your master? He is sitting in yonder building, with the nobles and ministers." The generous Khán, whose suspicions were relieved, entered the ante-chamber, and the accursed crew at once killed him.

After this the villain, being at ease and no longer in fear on the Sultán's account, sent for that band of murderers and broke open the Sultán's jewel-chamber, which was close at

hand. He put on his own neck a valuable necklace which belonged to the Sultán, and assumed the dress and pomp of royalty, and distributed among his followers lapfuls of jewels, and divided the Sultán's Arab horses among them, and said to them, "I make you all nobles. We will give up to plunder the houses of all who are not on our side; and in the morning I will collect all the *sáids* and learned men, and will ascend the throne, and have the *khutbah* read and coins struck in my name." When about three *gharís* of the night remained, they issued forth from the Sultán's jewel-chamber by a wicket.*

Shirwán Khán Bhattí, who had confidently advised Afzal Khán to go, awaited, with his wife and family, the Khán's return. When day began to dawn, he came out to discover what had happened. As he got to the end of a street in the *bázár*, a cry arose of "The Sultán," and he supposed that the Sultán was coming, so he dismounted† to make his obeisance. That villain called out in a loud voice: "Shirwán Khán Bhattí, why are you on foot? The appointments and the title of Afzal Khán are bestowed on you." Shirwán Khán at once understood what had occurred. He desired to get near Burhán, but the men who were round about would not allow it, till Burhán himself said, "Let Shirwán Khán come near; he is on my side, and desires to pay his obeisance." The moment he heard that base one's words, Shirwán Khán's anger blazed up, and when he got near he made his horse curvet,‡ and struck that villain such a blow across the loins with his sword that he was cut in two, and fell off his horse to the ground. Of the tiger-band who accompanied him, some fled and, taking their wives and children, made off.§ All dispersed, but some were sent after that evil one to Hell.

* In another part it is said that he ordered all the prisoners to be released.

† To dismount when a superior passes, or even an equal, is a mark of courtesy.

‡ Perhaps better, "made his horse perform a demi-volt."

§ In another place it is said that almost immediately, and while Burhán was yet in the treasury, some of those who were with him lost heart and abandoned him.

There was a great tumult and uproar in the city, but nobody yet knew what the night had brought forth till it was broad daylight. Then Shirwán Khán, with a number of the elder and more important nobles, assembled at I'timád Khán's house, and thence went all together to the Palace. In the first place they took possession of the treasury, and placed a trustworthy person in charge of it. Thence they proceeded to the private apartments of the Sultán; and when they saw him lying dead, all present burst into sobs and tears. From thence they went on to the ante-chamber, where they found the corpses of all the *wazírs* and nobles. Finally, they buried the Sultán in the mausoleum of Sultán Mahmúd Bígarha, which is opposite that of Shékh Ahmad Khattú. These events took place in the city of Mahmúdábád, on the eve of the 13th of Rabí'-ul-awal, A.H. 961. The Sultán was ten years old when he ascended the throne; he had reigned nearly eighteen years, and was in his twenty-eighth year when he was murdered. The date of his death is to be found in the words, *Hakík b'il Shahádat.*

When Burhán sent for I'timád Khán, the latter was prevented from going by the sagacity and foresight of his *wazír*, Wajíh-ul-Mulk, who, because it was unlikely that the Sultán should send at that time of night, felt sure there was something wrong, and would not let him go. On this account some contemptible persons have supposed that I'timád Khán was possibly an accomplice in these atrocious acts.

The Sultán being dead, and his nobles and *wazírs* having shared the same fate, there was no one to look to the peace of the country or the people except Säíd Mubárak. He had a number of Arabs in his service, brave men and well disciplined, but the greater part of his forces consisted of Bukháriah Säíds his kinsmen. Besides the *säíds* there were the Fúládís, whose leaders were Musá Khán and Shír Khán. Säíd Mubárak was beyond description attached to them; they were his disciples, and they were afterwards advanced by him to high honour and power. Moreover, there were other

Afgháns of the Lódí and Shírwání tribes, all very valiant men.

Among the *shékh-zádahs* who were connected with the Säíd was the writer's father, Shékh Muhamad by name, but generally called Shékh Mánjhú, who was the manager of the Säíd's worldly business, and had the general superintendence of his affairs. In short, there were in the Säíd's service men of every sort and class. There were ten thousand of them who, if the enemy had been a mountain of fire, would have crossed swords with him. Besides these were the servants of I'timád Khán, on whom, at the Sultán's death, the business of *wazír* had devolved on account of his position and experience; also 'Imád-ul-Mulk Rúmí, with his band of well-equipped men of Rúm; 'Ulugh Khán the Abyssinian, and Malik Shark Gujarátí; and, lastly, Ikhtiár-ul-Mulk, of the Sultán's *Khásiah-khéls*, all of whom the Säíd had collected together, and had exhorted in the first place to put aside mutual feuds and jealousy, and to concert together measures regarding the government. They asked I'timád Khán, who was acquainted with all the late Sultán's domestic affairs, whether the Sultán had left any son; that, if so, they might raise him to the throne and to the government of his inheritance; and, if not, whether any of the Sultán's wives were expecting a child, for if so they would wait till the child's birth before deciding on any arrangements regarding the kingdom, in case the child might prove a son. I'timád Khán said No; the Sultán had not left any son, nor were any of his wives expecting a child. As I'timád Khán was well acquainted with the Sultán's affairs, and thus denied that he had or could have a direct heir, they then asked him if there was any relative of the late Sultán who was fit to succeed to the throne, whom they might select. I'timád Khán replied that there was a relative of the Sultán at Ahmadábád, whose name was Ahmad Khán; they might send for him. Accordingly they sent Rezí-ul-Mulk to fetch the boy. Rezí-ul-Mulk got in a cart with very fast horses, and, it is

said, reached Ahmadábád in four *gharís*. When he came to Ahmad Khán's house, Ahmad Khán was standing at a grain-dealer's shop close by his own door, and was bringing away in the skirt of his dress some grain which he had bought for his pigeons. Rezí-ul-Mulk recognised him, got out of the cart, carried him off, and placing him in the cart, and turning it round, drove off to Mahmúdábád. The Khán's nurse cried out and wept, and made a disturbance, saying: "What is this? Where are you going to take him?" Rezí-ul-Mulk called out: "I am going to take him to a place where all the world will to-morrow crowd round his house, and where he will not find one friend." *

* This last sentence is variously given in the different texts.

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